

Rollin's Ant. Hist. Vol. XII.

to face the Tide.



AUGUSTUS & CLEOPATRA.

Published 20 June 1740 by J. & P. Knapton.

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THE ANTIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS, MEDES and
CARTHAGINI-PERSIANS,
ANS, MACEDONIANS,
ASSYRIANS, AND
BABYLONIANS, GRECians.

VOL XII.

Continuation of the HISTORY of
ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, Late Principal of the Uni-
versity of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the
Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy
of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

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THE
CONTENTS.

Continuation of BOOK XX.

SECT. I. *THE consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Archimedes is killed by a soldier who did not know him.* Page 1

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.	17
SECT. II. Summary of the history of Syracuse.	20
Times of liberty.	21
Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.	ibid.
Times of liberty.	22
Times of liberty.	23
SECT. III. Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.	ibid.

BOOK XXI.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. *Mithridates, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bitynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them.*

The C O N T E N T S.

them. He causes all the Romans in Asiaminor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asiaminor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and rebukes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.

Page 31

SECT. II. Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.

59

SECT. III. Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint-forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.

75

Letter of Mithridates to Arsaces king of the Partbians.

86

SECT. IV. Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem.

After

The C O N T E N T S.

After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. Page 94

A R T I C L E II.

SECT. I. Ptolemy Auletes being placed on the throne of Egypt, in the room of Alexander, he is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence of which he loads his subjects with imposts, and is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother very young, succeed him. 118

SECT. II. Potbinus and Acbillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes inamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battels are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome. 130

SECT. III. Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares for the Triumvirate. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses

The C O N T E N T S.

espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battel of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is complete. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire. Page 144
Conclusion of the ancient history. 376



BOOK



BOOK XX.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's SUCCESSORS.

SECT. I. The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him.

(a) **A**FFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference be-

VOL. XII.

B

tween,

(a) A. M. 3709. Ant. J. C. 214. Liv. l. 24. n. 33, 34.
Plut. in Marcl. p. 305, 307. Polyb. l. 8. p. 515—518.

2 The HISTORY of

tween attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land *; by land, on the side of Hexapyla; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina, the walls of which were washed by the waves.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scour the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of machines, used in attacking places.

The Romans carrying on their attacks at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans : this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his machines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and occasioned a terrible disorder in the ranks of the besiegers.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible balistæ and catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance : which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with immense weight at the end of them upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this,

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III.

ALEXANDER's Successors.

3

this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain; the person who guided the machine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cordage and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Galleys, frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators, after which they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *Sambuteæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed, from half on the right, and from the other half on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pulleys. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pulleys; others at the head assisted in raising it with leavers. The galleys afterwards being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *Sambuca* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner of a drawbridge) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes dis-

The HISTORY of

charged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten * quintals; then a second, and immediately after a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day before sun-rise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the machines, which, for want of a distance proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared machines long before, as we have already observed, that carried to all distances a proportionate quantity of darts, and ends of beams, which being very short required less time for preparing them, and in consequence were more frequently discharged. He had besides made small chasms or loop-holes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed † scorpions, which not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without being perceived but by that effect.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in their retreat; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beat to pieces, without being able to revenge

their

* The quintal which the Greeks called τάλαντον, was a weight of several kinds. The least bows, which the ancients weighed an hundred and twenty five pounds: the largest more than twelve hundred,

† The scorpions were machines in the nature of crossbowes: the least bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls : and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed to fight in reality with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasantries upon them. " Shall we persist," said he to his workmen and engineers, in making war with " this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys " and sambucas so rudely ? He infinitely exceeds the fabled " giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and sur- " prizing discharges upon us." Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them ; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived, they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they besieged the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city ; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, encouraging academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes ; he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge : I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity ! Hiero was far from such a conduct. He knew all the value of our geometrician ; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour ; he made it useful ; and did not stay, till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so : which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the very * arms of peace he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success ; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant as out of the earth, an incredible number of machines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, what might tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost cotemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances, of which whole armies were witnesses, in experiencing the effects, and which had so great influence in the events of the war ? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shews how high the antients had carried

their

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello, Horat.
And wise in peace prepared the arms of war.

ALEXANDER's Successors.

7

their genius and art in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is no doubt a modern tradition without any foundation. Burning-glasses were known to antiquity, but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

(b) After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities to the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two states appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily; but that of the Carthaginians seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to venture a battle, and soon sailed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates in this year, which must have been the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to the first what passed in the second. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais, who has lately published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, with which I am convinced the public will be well pleased. The first volume of

this

(b) A. M. 3791, Ant. J. C. 213. Liv. l. 24. n. 35, 36,

this work appeared some months ago, in the front of which there is a long preface well worth reading.

Marcellus therefore employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he defeated, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

(c) In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse, either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles, or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, he thought it proper to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, in which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprize having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing employed his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accident supplied him with a

resource,

(c) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Liv. l. 25. n. 23, 31.
Plut. in Marcell. p. 308, 309.

resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army : a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be prepared, he took the opportunity of a festival, that the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to grow drowsy and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapylum, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to prepare for action. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city in the possession of the enemy. The strongest

and

TO THE HISTORY OF

and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the Isle adjoining to Achradina, marched against Marcellus; but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and extent of that city, he is said to have shed tears, and to have deplored the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them: the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians: the many famous tyrants and potent kings, Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues, and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own. Moved by that reflection, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to fend to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

To prevent interruption by his rear, he then attacked a fort called Euryalus, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land-side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis, and in the latter times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded : Epicydes at the same time made a sally upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprizes was successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his intrenchments, and Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The distemper was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season. But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion ; from whence it happened, that some, neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the malady, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and laments. At length, the being accustomed to the evil had hardened their hearts, to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them, that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them ; he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of men.

Bomiclar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships,

ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomiclar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians encrease every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time both by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomiclar stood to sea in order to double the cape. But when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than to make any new attempt from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the disposition of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the king should appertain to the Romans; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and given them

them assurances that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, " That for whatever miseries they had suffered till then, or should suffer from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse fortune, as it depended upon themselves alone to put an end to them : That if the Romans had undertaken the siege of Syracuse, it was out of affection not enmity to the Syracusans : That it was not till after they had been apprized of the oppressions they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicydes, those ambitious agents of Hannibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, that they had taken arms and began the siege of the city, not to ruin it, but to destroy its tyrants : That as Hippocrates was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse, his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land, what reason could the Romans now have for not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse, as if Hiero, the sole example of faith to them, were still alive ? That neither the city nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear but from themselves, if they let slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans : That they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants ; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty, was to return to their duty."

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of which were chosen out of the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : " It was not the people of Syracuse, who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less criminal still to Rome than to his country : and afterwards, when the peace

" was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that
" infringed it, but the tyrant's instruments, Hippocrates
" and Epicydes. They were the enemies who have made
" war against you, after having made us slaves, either by
" violence, or fraud and perfidy ; and it cannot be said that
" we have had any times of liberty that have not also been
" times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we are
" become masters of ourselves by the death of those, who held
" Sicily in subjection, we come the very instant to deliver up
" to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, de-
" termined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to
" impose. For the rest," continued he, always addressing
himself to Marcellus, " your interest is as much concerned as
" ours. The gods have granted you the glory of having taken
" the finest and most illustrious city possessed by the Greeks.
" All we have ever atchieved of memorable either by sea
" or land, augments and adorns your triumph. Fame is
" not a sufficiently faithful chronicler to make known the
" greatness and strength of the city you have taken ; po-
" sterity can only judge of them by its own eyes. It is
" necessary that we should shew to all travellers, from
" whatever part of the universe they come, sometimes the
" trophies we have obtained from the Athenians and Car-
" thaginians, and sometimes those you have acquired from
" us ; and that Syracuse, thus placed for ever under the
" protection of Marcellus, may be a lasting, an eternal
" monument of the valour and clemency of him, who
" took and preserved it. It is unjust that the remembrance
" of Hieronymus should have more weight with you than
" that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend
" than the former your enemy. Permit me to say, you
" have experienced the amity of Hiero : but the seneleis
" enterprizes of Hieronymus have fallen solely upon his
" own head."

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with

with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected ; and dispersing themselves on all sides, they put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way. That they might not be without leaders they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus : him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded by some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered. They did not rise so high in their amount as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly left open for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his

16. The History of

camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence ;
“ That Hiero, for fifty years, had not done the Roman people
“ more good, than those who had been masters of Syracuse
“ some years past, had intended to do them harm ; but
“ that their ill-will had fallen upon their own heads, and
“ they had punished themselves for their violation of trea-
“ ties in a more severe manner, than the Romans could
“ have desired : That he had besieged Syracuse during three
“ years, not that the Roman people might reduce it into
“ slavery, but to prevent the chiefs of the revolters from
“ continuing it under oppression : That he had undergone
“ many fatigues and dangers in so long a siege ; but that he
“ thought he had made himself ample amends by the glory
“ of having taken that city, and the satisfaction of having
“ saved it from the entire ruin it seemed to deserve.” Af-
ter having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safe-guards
in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into
his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops.
It is reported, that the riches, which were pillaged in Sy-
racuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected
at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus,
and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at the
time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut
up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no
regard for what passed in this, was intent upon the study of
some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes but the whole
faculties of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation,
that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, uni-
versally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's be-
ing taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and
bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him
to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished
the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded ne-
ither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay,
drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly
afflicted, when he heard the news of his death. Not being
able to restore him to life, of which he would have been
very

very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I. *Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.*

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to put no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere ; that is to say, a globe or spherical figure ; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with reliefs, whereon the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines of his invention. Hence he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height ; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

(d) At the time he was questor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make search after the tomb of Archimedes ;

a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and which merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him, that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquities, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, * *that he found what he had looked for.* The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. † So that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of its citizens, so highly distinguished by force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account : but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant with the felicity of one passed in sober virtue, and abounding with wisdom, he says || : " I will not compare the lives of a Plato or an Ar-

chitas,

* *Eupυκα* in verb. Ar-
chim.

† Ita nobilissima Græciæ
civitas, quondam vero etiam
doctissima, sui civis unius
acutissimi monumentum ig-
norasset, nisi ab homine Ar-
pinate didicisset.

|| Non ergo jam cum hujus

vita, qua tetrius, miserius,
detestabilius excogitare nihil
possum, Platonis aut Architæ
vitam comparabo, doctorum
hominum & plane sapientum.
Ex eadem urbe HUMILEM
HOMUNCIONEM à pulvere
& radio excitabo, qui multis
annis post fuit, Archimedem.

ALEXANDER's Successors.

19

" chitas, persons of consummate learning and wisdom, with
" that of Dionysius, the most horrid, the most miserable,
" and the most detestable that can be imagined. I shall have
" recourse to a man of his own city, A LITTLE OB-
" SCURE PERSON, who lived many years after him. I
" shall produce him from his * dust, and bring him upon the
" stage with his rule and compasses in his hand." Not to
mention the birth of Archimedes, whose greatness was of a
different class, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, whose
sublime discoveries have in all ages been the admiration of
the Learned, should Cicero have treated this man as little
and obscure as a common artificer, employed in making ma-
chines; unless it be, perhaps, because the Romans, with
whom a taste for geometry and such speculative sciences never
gained much ground, esteemed nothing great but what re-
lated to government and policy.

Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus
Desribent radio, & surgentia fidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

VIRGIL. AEn. 6.

Let others better mold the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brafs,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,
And when the stars descend and when they rise;
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful sway
To rule mankind, and make the world obey;
Disposing peace and war, thy own majestick way.

DRYDEN.

(e) This is the Abbe Fraguier's reflection in the short dissertation he has left us upon this passage of Cicero.

SECT. II.

(e) Memoirs of the academy of inscriptions, Vol. II.

* He means the dust used by geometers.

SECT. II. Summary of the history of Syracuse.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extending between the two seas, composed what was called Græcia major, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerful of all Greece. (*f*) It was founded by Achitas the Corinthian, in the third year of the xviiith Olympiad.

The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. (*g*) It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government ; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

(*b*) **GELON.** The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece ; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amiclar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle ; and on the other I say

(*f*) A. M. 3295. (*g*) A. M. 3520. (*b*) A. M. 3520.

* In the history of the Carthaginians.

say after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.

(i) Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. Vol. III.

(k) HIERO I. Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III.

(l) THRASIBULUS. Thrasibus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III.

Times of liberty.

(m) After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.

(n) During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, Vol. III.

(o) DIONYSIUS the elder. The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more, for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. Vol. V.

(p) Dio-

(i) A. M. 3525. (k) A. M. 3532. (l) A. M. 3543.

(m) A. M. 3544. (n) A. M. 3588. (p) A. M. 3598.

(p) Dionysius the younger. Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

(q) Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, and retires into Italy.

(r) Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated in his own house by Callippus.

(s) Thirteen months after the death of Dion, Hipparchus, Brother of Dionysius the younger, expels Callippus, and establishes himself in Syracuse. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

(t) Dionysius the younger taking advantage of those troubles, reascends the throne ten years after having quitted it.

(u) At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires to Corinth.
Vol. I. Vol. V.

Times of liberty.

(x) Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He passes the rest of his life there in a glorious retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. Vol. V.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

(y) AGATHOCLES. Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself tyrant of Syracuse. Vol. I.

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history; carries the war into Africa; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times

(p) A. M. 3632. (q) A. M. 3644. (r) A. M. 3646.

(s) A. M. 3647. (t) A. M. 3654. (u) A. M. 3657.

(x) A. M. 3658. (y) A. M. 3685.

Times of liberty.

(z) Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she suffered much from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. Vol. I.

HIERO II. They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II, which was very long, and almost always pacific.

HIERONYMUS. He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it, by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them; but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first Punic war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

SECT. III. *Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.*

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished: *quasi victoriae præmium, ac pena*

peena belli. Sicily, in submitting to the * Roman people, retained all her antient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans ; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy ; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa ; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. Hence after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues ; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily

* Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent ; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruerint. Cic. ibid.

† Omnim nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit : prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata : prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset extensis gentibus imperare—Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam

ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, & rei frumentariae subsidium, & receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculorum urbes signis monumentisque pulcherrimis exornavit ; ut, quos victoria populi R. lætari arbitrabatur, apud eos monumenta victoriæ plurima collocaret. Cic. Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if they had always given her such magistrates as Cicero, knowing like him in the obligations of his functions, and like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject; which he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose, he says: "In all * the employments with which the Roman people have honoured me to this day, I have ever thought myself obliged by the most sacred ties of religion, worthily to discharge the duties of them. When I was made quæstor, I looked upon that dignity not as a gratuity conferred upon me for my particular use, but as a deposite confided to my vigilance and fidelity. When I was afterwards sent to act in that office, I thought all eyes were turned upon me, and that my person and administration were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to the view of all the world; and in

VOL. XII.

D

" this

* O dii immortales—Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquæ vitæ vestra populi R. existimatio comprobet, ut ego quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus R. mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer. Ita quæstor sum factus, ut mihi honorem illum non tam datum quam creditum ac oportum putarem. Sic obtinui quæsturam in provincia, ut omnium oculos in me unum conjectos arbitrarer: ut me quæsturamque meam quasi in aliquo orbis terræ theatro versari existimarem; ut omnia semper, quæ jucunda videntur esse, non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus, sed etiam ipsi naturæ ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus ædilis — Ita mihi deos omnes propitos esse velim, ut tametsi mihi jucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam tantum capio voluptatis, quantum sollicitudinis & laboris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas, non quia necesse fuit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit rectè collata, & judicio populi digna in loco posita esse videatur.

Cic. Verr. 7. 2. 35—37.

" this thought I not only denied myself all pleasures of an
 " extraordinary kind, but even those which are authorized
 " by nature and necessity. I am now intended for Ædile.
 " I call the gods to witness, that how honourable soever this
 " dignity seems to me, I have too just a sense of its weight,
 " not to have more solicitude and disquiet, than joy and
 " pleasure from it; so much I desire to make it appear,
 " that it was not bestowed upon me by chance, or the ne-
 " cessity of being filled up; but confided deservedly by the
 " choice and discernment of my country."

All the Roman governors were far from being of this character; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the public with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, that no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe from their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprizing scenes have been exhibited; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftner violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republic, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions: Sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a ~~po-~~
palace,

* Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi ideireo fas. ces & secures, & tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamenti ornatissimum omnium dignitatem datam; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repugna juris, pudoris, & officii perfringeres; ut omnium bona praedam tuam duceres; nullius res tuta, nullus domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam posset esse. *Ibid.* n. 39.

pulace, without either government or restriction; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of law, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty, from a kind of convulsions and frantic emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius the father and son, Agathocles, and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the public hatred and detestation; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, antient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristic, had a great share in them: but what I am convinced conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratic and democratic, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens: To attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised that power with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour; and others, by nature less virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism, under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who, jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons, that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable

power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage ; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, that inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally abandoned themselves blindly to their orators, who had acquired an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature ; and yet when influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which they immediately after repented.

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep ; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable

* Imperaturus est homini- pati possunt, nec totam libe-
bus, qui nec totam servitutem tam. Tacit. Hist. l. 1. c. 16,

capable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between those two extremes, by seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken were wonderfully successful, under whose government the Syracusans alway enjoyed peace and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. And this induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them, who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affection, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.

can be said to violate





BOOK THE TWENTY-
FIRST.

CONTINUATION.

OF THE

History of the SUCCESSORS

OF

ALEXANDER the Great.

THIS book contains two articles, of which the first includes the history of Mithridates king of Pontus, and the second the reigns of Ptolemy Auletes, and the famous Cleopatra, with which ends the history of the Greeks.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article includes the space of sixty years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates; from the year of the world 3880, to the year 3943.

SECT. I.

SECT. I. Mithridates, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bitynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house, which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabasus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hyrcanus, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But besides that we do not find the name of Artabasus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak, was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

(a) He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. (b) He began his

reign

(a) A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

(b) Memnon

in Excerptis Photii, c. 32.

reign by putting his mother and brother to death ; and the sequel answered but too well to such a beginning of it.
 (c) Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered, and put him into possession of Phrygia, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his enmity for them.

(d) Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought before the senate, both parties were condemned and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to chuse whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition ; but the real motive of it was to check the enterprizes of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting gave umbrage to the Romans. (e) Sylla executed his commission the following year ; and after having defeated a great number of Cap-

(c) Appian. in Mithrid. p. 177, 178. (d) A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. (e) A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobafus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces *, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, receiving him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobafus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced in this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes ; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himself in cultivating good alliances for the augmentation of his strength, and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. (f) Armenia had at first appertained to the Persians ; it came under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the Great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadiadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governors. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts, Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed, Mithridates

should

(f) Strab. l. 11. p. 531, 532.

* This was Mithridates II.

should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

(g) Their first enterprize and act of hostility was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time : his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius, and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support ; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effects, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice Nicomedes had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot : but he did not take the field. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the

varipus

(g) A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied with complaints on their side of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair, and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war, that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer; that Mithridates had orders immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived; which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many different people, were reckoned amongst his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with

with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

(b) Before he proceeded to action, he thought it necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made them * a long discourse to animate them against the Romans. " He represented to them, that there was no room for examining whether war or peace were to be preferred ; that the Romans, by attacking them first, had spared them that enquiry : That their business was to fight and conquer : That he assured himself of success, if the troops persisted to act with the same valour they had already shewn upon so many occasions, and lately against the same enemies, whom they had put to flight, and cut to pieces in Bithynia and Cappadocia : That there could not be a more favourable opportunity than the present, when the Marii infested and ravaged the heart itself of Italy ; when Rome was torn in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable army of the Cimbri from Germany over-ran all Italy : That the time was come for humbling those proud Republicans, who had the same view with regard to the royal dignity, and had sworn to pull down all the thrones of the universe : That for the rest †, the war

" his

(b) Justin. I. 38. c. 3—7.

* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomiser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

† Nunc se diversam belli conditionem ingredi. Nam segue salvo Asiae esse tempe-

ratius aliud, nec solo fertilius, nec urbium multitudine amoenius ; magnamque temporis partem, non ut militiam, sed ut, festam diem, asturos, bello dubium facilis magis an uberi — tantumque se avida expectat Asia, ut etiam vocibus vocet : adeo illis odiū Romanorum incusit rapacitas proconsulū, sectio publicanorum, salumnij li-

tium,

" his soldiers were now entering upon, was highly differ-
 " ent from that they had sustained with so much valour
 " in the horrid deserts, and frozen regions of Scythia :
 " That he should lead them into the most fruitful and
 " temperate country of the world, abounding with rich
 " and opulent cities, which seemed to offer themselves an
 " easy prey : That Asia, abandoned to be devoured by the
 " insatiable avarice of the proconsuls, the inexorable cruelty
 " of tax-farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt judges,
 " had the name of Roman in horror, and impatiently ex-
 " pected them as her deliverers : That they followed him
 " not so much to a war, as to assured victory, and certain
 " spoils." The army answered this discourse with univer-
 " sal shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of service and
 fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out of their troops in the several parts of Asia Minor. The first was com-
 manded by Cassius, who had the government of the pro-
 vince of Pergamus ; the second by Manius Aquilius ; the
 third by Q. Oppius proconsul, in the province of Pamphy-
 lia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the
 cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand
 foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I
 have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome,
 and carried it on with so much negligence and so little con-
 duct, that they were all three defeated on different occa-
 sions, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius them-
 selves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kind of
 insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal
 author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities.

VOL. XII.

E

He

tium. *Justin.* — Sectio
publicanorum in this passage
 properly signifies the forcible
 sale of the goods of those, who
 for defaults of payment of taxes
 and imposts, had their estates
 and effects seized on and sold by

the publicans. Calumniae li-
 tium are the unjust quirks and
 chicanery, which served as pre-
 texts for depriving the rich of
 their estates, either upon account
 of taxes, or under some other
 colour.

He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastened by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had retired to their city for the recovery of his health.

(i) Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the people's hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had taken prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises, called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia, with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed for the prince of his times, (k) who could drink most without being disordered ; a quality he valued himself upon, and thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven ; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces ; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea, a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

(l) Mithridates considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, who were at that time in Asia minor upon different affairs, carried on secret intrigues much to the

(i) Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 461. Athen. l. 5. p 213.
Cic. Orat. pro Flacco, n. 60. (k) Plut. Sympof. l. 1. p. 624. (l) A. M. 3916. Ant. J. C. 22.
Appian. p. 185. Cic. in Orat. pro lege Manili. n. 7.

the prejudice of his interests, he sent private orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governors of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed *. The women, children, and domestics were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king, and the murderers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead ; and a reward appointed for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves, who killed their masters ; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order, is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the desolation in all those provinces when it was put in execution ! Fourscore thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

(m) Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent people thither to seize it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns) which the Jews in Asia minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

(n) All those, who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

(m) Appian. p. 186. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

(n) Appian. p. 186—188. Diod. in Excerpt. p. 402.

* Is uno die, tota Asia, tione, cives Romanos necant in civitatibus, uno nuntio, dos trucidandoque denotavit, atque una literarum significa. Cic.

(o) When he had made himself master of Asia minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence, giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force, which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Ariston, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Ariston was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He employed the two thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

(p) Such was the state of affairs when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which subjected to the tyrant Ariston's yoke, was obliged unwillingly to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies, the one of which he sent to besiege Ariston in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus, which was a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up, relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war, when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The

(o) Plut. in Sylla, p. 458--461. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 188--197. (p) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 87.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, attacks, nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycaeum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished in order to make use of the ruins in erecting his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons assembled at Delphos, "That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god, because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre

from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to strike Sylla with a religious awe, he wrote him an account of what happened. Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, " That he was surprised he should not comprehend, that singing was a sign of joy, and by no means of anger and resentment; and therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures boldly, and be assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the antient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the public good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy methods for that purpose. They commanded troops that were wise, disciplined, and well inured to execute the orders of their generals, without reply or delay. Truly kings, says * Plutarch, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest private persons in their train and equipage, they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices, than what was reasonable and necessary, conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege he had engaged in, the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the

* Αυτοὶ τε ταῖς φυκαῖς βασιλίδι καὶ ταῖς δακταῖς
ἴτελαις γύτεσ.

the only city he had left in Greece, and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour ; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost battles in form, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves that were in the Piræus. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans. So that whatever wise measures Archelaus took, who defended the Piræus, whilst Aristion commanded in the city, nothing succeeded. He resolved to make a general sally ; the traitors flung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it : *To-morrow, at such an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horse your camp.* Sylla laid ambushes, and repulsed the besieged with loss. A convoy of provisions was in the night to have been thrown into the city that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the same kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the Athenians defended themselves like lions. They found means either to burn most of the machines erected against the walls, or by undermining them to throw them down and break them to pieces.

The Romans, on their side, behaved with no less vigour. By the help of mines also they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having

ing propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards set fire to the props with a great quantity of pitch, sulphur, and tow. When those beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noise, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the assault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardor on both sides, but the Romans at length were obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The besieged had built a new wall during the night in the form of a crescent, in the place where the other had fallen; and the Romans found it impossible to force it.

Sylla, discouraged by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræus no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (about five and twenty pounds sterling.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grafts and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the public misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla: he dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and asked nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, “ Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your antient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt.

During this audience, some spies having entered the city, overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called

called * Ceramicus, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the only place by which the enemy might easily scale the walls. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers, who were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by famine, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus, and burnt all its fortifications, especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabric. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus one of his generals arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's brother, was at that time in the port of Munichia, and would neither remove from the sea, nor come to a battle with the Romans; but he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off their provisions. This was very wise conduct, for Sylla began to be in want of them; so that famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter the fruitful plains of Bœotia, where

Hortensius

* The public place at Athens.

Hortensius joined him. Their troops being united, they took possession of a fertile eminence in the midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. When they had formed their camp, the enemies could discover at a view their small number, which amounted to only fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. This induced Archelaus's generals to press him in the warmest manner to proceed to action. They did not obtain his consent without great difficulty. They immediately began to move, and covered the whole plain with horses, chariots, and their innumerable troops. For when the two brothers were joined, their army was very formidable. The noise and cries of so many nations, and so many thousands of men preparing for battle, the pomp and magnificence of their array, were equally terrible. The brightness of their armour, magnificently adorned with gold and silver, and the lively colours of the Median and Scythian coats of arms, mingled with the glitter of brafs and steel, reflected a kind of rays, which whilst they dazzled the sight, filled the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close within their entrenchments. Sylla, not being able by his discourse and remonstrances to remove their fear, and not being willing to force them to fight in their present universal discouragement, was obliged to lie still, and suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they neglected to observe any discipline. Few of them kept within their entrenchments: the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the cities of the allies destroyed before his eyes, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem, which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephisus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosse's, under pretence of their better security, but in effect, that when

when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days, as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly intreated, and did not comply for some time: but when he saw their ardor increase from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves with a great body of troops of a very advantagious post, called Thurium: it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse between the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena, whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already began to extend their horse, and light armed foot, in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge it in the rear.

At that instant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprized and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who charged and pursued them down the hill with their swords at their backs; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he intercepted, and made a great slaughter of them: the rest,

left, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much precipitation, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in restoring order, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, to take advantage of this disorder, marched against them with so much vigour, and passed the space between the two armies with such rapidity, that he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space that did not leave room for their career, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for more, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies came to blows. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broke; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand, removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What increased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and posted amongst them the heavy armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank; which Archelaus seeing,

seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by degrees towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and upon the point of being surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged what they were, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against * Murena; whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should fasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither side having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding him also victorious, and had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

(q) To celebrate so great a victory, he gave the Musick games at Thebes, and caused judges to come from the neig-

bousing Grecian cities to distribute the prizes ; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods, should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest) had been elected consul, and had already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Thessaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived * at the city of Melitea, news came to him from all sides, that all the places he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Boeotia, and had possessed himself of the whole country in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had lately lost ; but his counsel and remonstrances had no effect. He soon knew, that the advice he had given him, was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosse's to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say*

* In Thessaly.

ALEXANDER's Successors. 51

Say it was at Orlobomenus. They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops, who had continued in the camp into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pel-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes, in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself to repair his losses by making new levies. But from the fear, that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precautions of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

(r) He was not more successful in Asia himself, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruized in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal

F 2

glory,

(r) Plut. in Sylla, p. 466—468. Id. in Lucul. p. 493.
Appian. p. 204---210.

glory, by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states, where misunderstandings subsist between the ministers and generals of the army, which make them neglect the publick good, least they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprizing, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar; and during his being quæstor in Asia, the provinces had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his, did not want to be taught by experience, which is not to be acquired by lessons, and is generally the growth of many years. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journies by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a compleat general, though he left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war *. Let young warriors

consider

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus à senatu, non modo opinioñem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilis, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescētiā in forensi opera, quæstura diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Afīe pace consumperat. Sed

incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit in docilem usū disciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando à peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. Cic. Academ. Quæst. l. 4. n. 2.

consider this with due attention ; and observe in what manner the Great form themselves.

Whilst Sylla was very successful in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the commonwealth. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chose to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety ; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, brought him an account, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ruined his lands, and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those, who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition, to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief ; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced, when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to pass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates ; and added, that his master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against the faction of Cinna and Marius.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him on his side to withdraw himself from the slavery, in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared

the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity so natural to the Romans, said to him : " If " being only a slave, and at best but an officer of a Barbarian " king, you look upon it as a baseness to quit the service of " your master, how dared you propose the abandoning the " interests of the republic to such a Roman as me ? Do " you imagine our condition and affairs to be equal ? Have " you forgot my victories ? Do you not remember, that you " are the same Archelaus I have defeated in two battles, " and forced in the last to hide himself in the marshes of " Orchomenus ? "

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, proposed the following conditions : " That Mithridates " should renounce Asia and Paphlagonia : That he should " restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ario- " barzanes : That he should pay the Romans two thousand " talents (about three hundred thousand pounds sterling) for " the expences of the war, and seventy armed galleys, with " their whole equipage ; and that Sylla, on his side, should " secure to Mithridates the rest of his dominions, and cause " him to be declared the friend and ally of the Roman peo- " ple." Archelaus seemed to approve those conditions ; and dispatched a courier immediately to communicate them to Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont, carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at Larissa, who came to declare to him, that their master accepted and ratified all the other articles, but that he desired he would not deprive him of Paphlagonia ; and that as to the seventy galleys, he could by no means comply with that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal, answered them in an angry tone : " What

" What say you ? Would Mithridates keep possession of Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the galleys I demanded ? I expected to have seen him return me thanks upon his knees, for having only left him the hand with which he butchered an hundred thousand Romans. He will change his note, when I go over to Asia ; though at present, in the midst of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans for a war he never saw." Such was the lofty style of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to understand at the same time, that he would not talk such language, had he been present in the past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer, made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to soften Sylla, and promised him, that Mithridates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

(s) Archelaus upon his return joined him at the city of Phillipi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions ; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flaccus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates ; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scythes : and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. When Mithridates advanced to meet him, and offered him his hand, Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions ? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued, " Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is for suppliants to speak, and for the victorious to hear and be silent ?" Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to ascribe the cause of the war, partly to the gods, and partly to the Romans. Sylla interrupted him,

and

and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions Archelaus had laid before him. Mithridates, surprized at the haughtiness and steady air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces ; and afterwards presenting the kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear that a prince, who of all kings was the most mortal enemy of Rome, and who in one day had caused an hundred thousand Roman citizens dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazard a battle against troops, superior in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy ; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself ; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary dominions. * But what

is

* Vix quidquam in Syllæ Italiam ob siderent, neque il operibus clarissimus duxerim, laturum se bellum iis dissimilavit, nec quod erat in manibus Cinnamæ Marianæ partes bus omisit ; existimatique ante

is most to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun, convinced that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy in not hearkening to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began his intrenchments. Fimbria's soldiers, who came out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcileable enemy from whom he could expect no mercy, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand * talents, and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops whom he quartered upon them, and who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four † drachmas a day, and entertain a table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty || drachmas, and besides that a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

(t) After

ante frangendum hostem, cisset, superaret quod erat do-
quam ulciscendum civem; mesticum. *Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 2.*
repulsoque externo metu,
ubi quod alienum esset vi-

* About three millions sterling. † About two shillings.

|| About five and twen'y shillings.

(1) After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Pærus. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect industriously all sorts of books for their library, as the city of Scepsis was in their dependance, those heirs, apprehending those works would be taken from them, they thought proper to hide them in a vault under-ground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-eaten and obliterated. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that in some places with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library, and with these works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy

(1) Plut. in Syl. p. 468; Strab. l. 13. p. 609. Athen. l. 3. p. 214. Laert. in Theop.

copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards imparted it to the public : the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

SECT. II. Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three years duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus consul sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.

(u) SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him, for whom Cicero made the fine oration, which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. The first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy, which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood ; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bos-

Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe, his designs were against the the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands, and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Cappadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. In consequence he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

(x) There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publickly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon as mere collusion. And indeed Murena persisted in ravaging his country. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss.

(y) Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer any longer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war with that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes: he obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons

of

(x) A. M. 3922. Ant. J. C. 82.
Ant. J. C. 81.

(y) A. M. 3923.

of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garrisons, promising no doubt to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest in drinking, eating, singing, and railing : fit objects of emulation ! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

(x) Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the same year. But he contrived a stratagem to deprive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he acted in the same manner for the better peopling of his own dominions.

(a) The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and no-

VOL. XII.

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ney

(x) A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. (a) A. M. 3928.
Ant. J. C. 76. Appian. p. 216, 217. Plut. in Sertor. p. 589,
581.

try to carry on the war, upon condition that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had opened their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and the rather, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprize, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a truly Roman greatness of soul, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by just and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly, he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, which were accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend no just right to dispose; but that he would never consent he should have any footing in Asia minor, which appertained to the republic, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, it struck him with amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, " What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war against us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty was however concluded, and sworn between them to this effect: That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that Sertorius should send him troops for that purpose, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates on his side, should pay Sertorius * three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys.

About four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him, well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republic, obscured the splendor and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them ; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politic a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

(b) Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republic was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entering upon the conquests he had given up.

(c) Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurement of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers : he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned ; assembled an

Hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined like the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service, besides an hundred chariots armed with long scythes, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the pay and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatic war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

(d) The two consuls Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, each of them with an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia and Cappadocia for his province ; the other Bithynia and the Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the time to come ; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some great exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told, that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive, the greater haste he made to fight ; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships with their whole compliments ; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedon, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured

to

(d) A. M. 3930. Ant. J. C. 74.

to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to a revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of the whole dominions of an enemy ; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first action by which he distinguished himself, and which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

(e) Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenuously supported the Roman party in this war. In making himself master of this place, he would have opened himself a passage from Bithynia into Asia Minor, which would have been very advantagious, in giving him an opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible ease and security. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps ; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began, by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged him ; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory, that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory ; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and carried on with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable

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machines.

(e) A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. Plut. in Lucul. p. 497
499. Appian. p. 239-222.

machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodiges of valour, and employed all means, that the most industrious capacity could invent, to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely, by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered, he weakened the army of the besiegers so much, and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far, as to support themselves upon human flesh. (f) Mithridates *, who passed for the most artful captain of his times, in despair that a general, who could not have had much experience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches, and feigned movements, and had defeated him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years before the place. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them, and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot,

and

(f) A. M. 3933. Ant. J. C. 72.

* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicenorum meenia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiae jantam fore putavisset, qua effracta & rebulla, tota pateret provincia; perfecta ab Lucullo haec sunt omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiae regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. Cic. in Orat. pro Mure, n. 33.

and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet *, beat them twice ; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, and of alarming, and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements ; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent from Spain to the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself ; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent : reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia ; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He

* Ab eodem imperatore valem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis duabus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parva dimicazione commissam arbitraris ? Id, pro Muræna.

Quid ? Illam pugnat na- n. 33.

He suffered at first so great a want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, each with a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjeeting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ex-soldier for * only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four.

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He lost in it almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his antient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he designed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodeon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and gather strength. To which he answered in his justification : " That is directly what I want. I act in this manner for no other purpose, in order that our enemy may take new courage, and assemble so numerous an army, as may embolden him to expect us in the field, and fly no longer before us. Do you not observe, that he has behind him immense solitudes and infinite deserts, in which it will be impossible for us either to come up with or pursue him ? Armenia

" is but a few days march from these desarts. There Ti-
 " granes keeps his court, that king of kings, whose pow-
 " er is so great, that he subdues the Parthians, transports
 " whole cities of Greeks into the heart of Media, has
 " made himself master of Syria and Palestine, extermin-
 " ated the kings descended from Seleucus, and carried
 " their wives and daughters into captivity. This power-
 " ful prince is the ally and son-in-law of Mithridates. Do
 " you think, when he has him in his palace as a suppli-
 " ant, that he will abandon him, and not make war against
 " us? Hence in hastening to drive away Mithridates, we
 " shall be in great danger of drawing Tigranes upon our
 " hands, who has long sought pretexts for declaring against
 " us, and who can never find one more specious, legiti-
 " mate, and honourable, than that of assisting his father-
 " in-law, and a king reduced to the last extremity. Why
 " therefore should we serve Mithridates against ourselves,
 " or shew him to whom he should have recourse for the
 " means of supporting the war with us, by pushing him,
 " against his will, and at a time perhaps when he looks
 " upon such a step as unworthy his valour and greatness,
 " into the arms and protection of Tigranes? Is it not in-
 " finitely better, by giving him time to take courage, and
 " strengthen himself with his own forces, to have only
 " upon our hands the troops of Colchis, the Fibarenians
 " and Cappadocians, whom we have so often defeated, than
 " to expose ourselves to having the additional force of the
 " Armenians and Medes to contend with?"

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had already formed a new army, took the field very early in the spring. Lucullus left the command of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Murena, the son of him we have spoken of before, whom Cicero represents in a very favourable light. * " He went

into

* Asiam istam refertam & ut in ea neque avaritiae, ne-
 canderem delicatam, sic obiit, que luxuriae vestigium reli-
 querit.

" into Asia, a province abounding with riches and pleasures, where he left behind him no traces either of avarice or luxury. He behaved in such a manner in this important war, that he did many great actions without the general, the general none without him." Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying crowd, got from his horse and gave it him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the soldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says * Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyrtus her brother in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places through

querit. Maximo in bello sic est versatus, ut hic multas res & magnas sine imperatore gesserit, nullam sine hoc imperator. *Cic. pro Muræna, n. 20.*

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Pento Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratribus sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipasse, ut eorum collectio dispersa mœrorque patrius cele-

ritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas & à majoribus acceperat, & ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse è manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mœror, hos lætitia retardavit. *Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.*

through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief of so sad a spectacle would give him, might stop the rapidity of his pursuit. Mithridates, in like manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars: and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty they received from Lucullus seemed less a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of these castles a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably, Mithridates on his flight having sent them orders to die by Bachidas the eunuch.

Amongst the other sisters of the king were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: he sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and in compliance with her family, dazzled with

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the splendor of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the instant of which we are now speaking, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of an husband had given her a master, and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians; where, far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princesses the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further, than to leave them at liberty to chuse the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate, Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out: *Ab fatal trifle, you might at least do me this mournful office!* Then throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice she took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, tired with waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statira, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of with-

withdrawing from the indignities, their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates : but having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route of Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly, and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him ; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. (g) Callimachus, who commanded in it, and was the most able engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the siege. When he saw that he could hold out no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain ; and to encrease his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he not capable of restraining them. A rain that happened to fall preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an antient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Ariston's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers, held under the most dreadful oppression ; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that

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slavery,

(g) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

VOL. XII.

slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand * talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over : but those insatiable usurers, by heaping interest upon interest, had ran it up to an hundred and twenty thousand † talents ; so that they still owed triple the sums they had already paid.

Tacitus || has reason to say, that usury was one of the most antient evils of the Roman commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition ; but at the time we now speak of, it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one per cent : hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnis* ; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve per cent. was paid : *uncia* is the twelfth part of an whole.

(b) The † law of the twelve tables prohibited the raising interest to above twelve per cent. This law was revived by the two tribunes of the people, in the 396th year of Rome.

(i) Ten years after, interest was reduced to half that sum, in the 406th year of Rome ; *semunciarum fœnum*.

(k) At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all interest was prohibited by decree : *ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. § Avarice was always too strong for the laws : and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republic, or under

(b) Tacit. Annal. I. 6. c. 16. Liv. I. 7. n. 16.

(i) Ibid. n. 27. (k) Ibid. n. 42.

* About three millions sterl. † Ne quis unciario fœnore

† About eighteen millions amplius exerceto.

sterling.

§ Multis plebiscitis obviam itam fraudibus : quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes rursum oriebantur. Tacit. ibid.

|| Sanè vetus urbi fœnebre malum, & seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Tacit. Annal. I. 6. c. 16.

under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because God, having forbade any, she never believed, she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder, which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some relaxation ; which he could only effect, by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, raised a great outcry, as if they had been excessively injured, and by the force of money animated many orators against him ; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republic in their debt, which gave them a very extensive, and almost unbounded influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours with a constancy the more admirable from its being very uncommon.

Sect. III. *Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint-forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.*

(1) **TIGRANES**, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes,

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of

(1) A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. Plut. in Lucul. p. 504--512. Memn. c. 48--57. Appian. in Mithrid. p. 228--232.

of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænites, he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity, that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendor he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; who on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition with that which particularly characterised his republic, perfectly supported the dignity of a Roman ambassador.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaints, which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates, and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had assumed that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads.

heads. He never appeared in publick without having four kings attending him ; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad : at table, in his chamber, in short, every where he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him ; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For at that time, to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined shocks less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprizing, that a prince of this character, should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It is the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five and twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife ; that the union between them was of too strict a nature, to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus ; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war against him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To expres his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprize seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that place its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independant cities. (m) Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt al-

most the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of taking that place. But soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *Latus clavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of the winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in his capital, where he had lately arrived from Syria. No body dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after his cruel treatment of the person that brought him the first news of it, whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He listened to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not betake himself to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands, of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates, though his father-in-law, but treated him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, kept him at a distance, and placed a guard over him as a prisoner of state, in marshy, unwholesome places. (n) But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together without witnesses, they cured themselves

(n) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

elves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him ; *And for you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, in regard to your master's demands ?* Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity : *As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you ; but as your counsel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner ; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city

city was full of all sorts of riches ; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king : for this reason Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour ; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry, in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and Barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those who were for a battle ; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had about twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided into companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear

clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army, was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murrena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men, all his horse, and about a thousand archers and slingers, marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself, to appear agreeable and a fine raillier, used an expression, which has been much admired; *If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many; but if as enemies, very few.* Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their intrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastening his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled; and calling for Taxilus, told him with a contemptuous laugh: *Do you see those invincible Roman legions? You see they can run away.* Taxilus replied, *I wish your majesty's good fortune may*

may this day do a miracle in your favour ; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people running away.

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legions move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering then with difficulty, like one that had been long drunk, cried out two or three times, *How ! Are these people coming to us !* They came on so fast, that his numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre ; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to engage upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of * Cepio had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous : *And for me, I'll make this an happy day for the Romans.* It was the sixth of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass made in the form of scales, which glittered surprizingly, under which was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join an enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at distance with their arrows ; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and impetuosity of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Per-

* The Greek text says, the army of Scipio, which Monsieur de Thou has justly corrected in the margin of his Plutarch, the army of Cæpio.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal or rather whole force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immovable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out, *The victory is ours, fellow soldiers, the victory is ours.* At the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. That cavalry did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unwieldy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin till they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning with a few followers; and seeing his son the compa-

nion of his fortune, he took off his diadem weeping, and giving it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time; and gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped: on the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, delay and expedition. For by protraction and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates, when he was strongest and most formidable, and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

It was this latter conduct that prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small days journeys to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way who fled with the utmost terror and consternation, he suspected what had happened; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length abandoned by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him, he quitted his horse, lamented their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the

the officers that served him, and revived his hopes : so that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta ; the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and determined at all events to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers ; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver (about one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling.) Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred * drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

(o) As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in an instant almost a desert.

(p) If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his victory, without giving him time to raise new troops, he would either have taken or driven him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so, was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

I

After

(o) Strab. l. 11. p. 532. & l. 12. p. 539.

(p) Dion. Cas. l. 35. p. 1.

* About twenty pounds.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal favourably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered, that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians ; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprize against the Parthians, and to confine himself to pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in the best condition to assist them in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter of Mithridates to * Arsaces king of the Parthians.*

“ ALL those †, who in a state of prosperity, are invited
“ to enter as confederates into a war, ought first
“ to consider, whether peace be at their own option ; and
“ next,

* *Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.*

† *Omnis, qui secundis rebus suis ad bellum societatem erantur, considerare debent,*

liceatne tum pacem agere :
dein quod queritur, satisne
pium, tutum, gloriosum, an
indecorum sit. Tibi perpetua pace frui licet, nisi
hostes

“ next, whether what is demanded of them, is consistent
 “ with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You
 “ might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not
 “ the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions of war,
 “ and intirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans,
 “ you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem in-
 “ consistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with
 “ Tigranes, or powerful as you are, that you should join a
 “ prince in my unfortunate condition. But I dare advance,
 “ that those two motives, your resentment against Tigranes
 “ upon account of his late war with you, and the no ad-
 “ vantagious situation of my affairs, to judge rightly of
 “ them, far from opposing my demand, ought to support
 “ it. For as to Tigranes, as he knows he has given you
 “ just cause of complaint, he will accept, without difficulty,
 “ whatever conditions you shall think fit to impose upon
 “ him; and for me, I can say, that fortune, by having
 “ deprived me of almost all I possessed, has enabled me to
 “ give others good counsels, and, which is much to be de-
 “ fired in persons of prosperity, I can, even from my own
 “ misfortunes, supply you with examples, and induce you
 “ to take better measures than I have done. For do not
 “ deceive yourself, it is with all the nations, states, and
 “ kings of the earth, the Romans are at war; and two
 “ motives, as antient as powerful, put their arms into

hostes opportuni & scelestissimi.
 Egregia fama si Romanos oppresseris, futura est.
 Neque petere audeam societatem, & frustra mala mea
 cum tuis bonis misceri sperarem. Atqu ea, quae te morari posse videntur, ira in
 Tigranem recentis belli, &
 meae res parum prosperae, si
 vera aestumare voles, maxime
 hortabuntur. Ille enim

obnoxius, qualem tu voles
 societatem accipiet: mihi for-
 tuna, multis rebus erexit,
 usum dedit bene suadendi, &
 quod florentibus optabile est,
 ego non validissimus præbeo
 exemplum, quo rectius tua
 componas. Namque Romanis
 cum nationibus, populis, re-
 gibus cunctis, una & ea vetus
 causa bellandi est, cupidus pro-
 funda imperii & divitiarum.—

" their hands ; the unbounded ambition of extending their " conquests, and the insatiable thirst of riches." Mithridates afterwards enumerates at large the princes and kings they had reduced one after another, and often by one another. He repeats also his first successes against the Romans, and his late misfortunes. He goes on to this effect : " Ex-
" amine * now, I beg you, when we are finally ruined,
whether

* Nunc quæso, considera,
nobis oppressis, utrum fir-
miorem te ad resistendum, an
finem belli futurum putes ?
Scio euidem tibi magnas opes
virorum, armorum, & auri
esse : & ea re nobis ad socie-
tatem, ab illis ad prædam pe-
teris. Cæterū confilium est
Tigranis, regno integro, meis
militibus belli prudentibus,
procul ab domo, parvo la-
bore, per nostra corpora bel-
lum confidere : quando neque
vincere neque vinci sine peri-
culo tuo possumus. An igno-
ras Romanos, postquam ad
occidentem pergentibus finem
oceanus fecit, arma huc con-
vertisse ? Neque quicquam à
principio nisi raptum habere ;
domum, conjuges, agros, im-
perium ? Convenas, olim sine
patriâ, sine parentibus, peste
conditos orbis terrarum : qui-
bus non humana ulla neque
divina obstant, quin socios,
amicos, procul, juxtaque si-
tos, inopes, potentesque tra-
hant, excidantque ; omnia
que non serva, & maxime

regna, hostilia ducant. Nam-
que pauci libertatem pars
magna justos dominos volunt.
Nos suspecti fumus æmuli, &
in tempore vindices affuturi.
Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima
urbium, regnumque Persidis
inclitis divitiis est, quid ab
illis, nisi dolum in præsens,
& postea bellum expectas ?
Romani in omnes arma ha-
bent, accerrima in eos quibus
spolia maxima sunt. Audendo
& fallendo, & bella ex bellis
ferendo, magni facti. Per
hunc morem extinguent om-
nia ut occident : quod difficile
non est, si tu Mesopotamiâ,
nos Armeniâ circumgredimur
exercitum sine frumento, sine
auxiliis. Fortuna autem no-
stris vitiiis adhuc incolumis.
Teque illa fama sequetur,
auxilio profectum magnis re-
gibus latrones gentium op-
pressisse. Quod uti facias
moneo hortorque, neu malis
pernicie nostra unum impe-
rium probare, quam societate
victor fieri.

" whether you will be in a condition to resist the Romans,
 " or can believe, that they will confine their conquests to
 " my country ? I know you are powerful in men, in arms,
 " and treasure ; it is therefore We desire to strengthen
 " ourselves by your alliance ; They, to grow rich by your
 " spoils. For the rest, it is the intent of Tigranes to avoid
 " drawing the war into his own country, that we shall go
 " with all my troops, which are certainly well disciplined,
 " to carry our arms far from home, and attack the enemy
 " in person in their own country. We cannot therefore
 " either conquer or be conquered, without your being in
 " danger. Do you not know, that the Romans, when
 " they found themselves stopped by the ocean on the west,
 " turned their arms this way ? That to look back to their
 " foundation and origin, whatever they have, they have
 " from violence, home, wives, lands, and dominions. A
 " vile herd of every kind of vagabonds, without country,
 " without forefathers, they established themselves for the
 " misfortune of human race. Neither divine nor human
 " laws restrain them from betraying and destroying their
 " allies and friends, remote nations or neighbours, the weak
 " or the powerful. They reckon all enemies, that are not
 " their slaves ; and especially, whatever bears the name of
 " king. For few nations affect a free and independant go-
 " vernment ; the generality prefer just and equitable ma-
 " sters. They suspect us, because we are said to emulate
 " their power, and may in time avenge their oppressions.
 " But for you, who have Selucia, the greatest of cities,
 " and Persia, the richest and most powerful of kingdoms,
 " what can you expect from them, but deceit at present,
 " and war hereafter ? The Romans are at war with all
 " nations ; but especially with those, from whom the
 " richest spoils are to be expected. They are become great
 " by enterprizing, betraying, and by making one war bring
 " forth another. By this means they will either destroy all
 " others, or be destroyed themselves. It will not be diffi-
 " cult to ruin them, if you, on the side of Mesopotamia,
 " and we, on that of Armenia, surround their army, with-

" out provisions or auxiliaries. The prosperity of their
 " arms has subsisted hitherto solely by our fault, who have
 " not been so prudent to understand this common enemy,
 " and to ally ourselves against him. It will be for your
 " immortal glory to have supported two great kings, and to
 " have conquered and destroyed these robbers of the world.
 " This is what I earnestly advise and exhort you to do ; that
 " you may chuse rather to share with us by a salutary
 " alliance, in conquering the common enemy, than to suf-
 " fer the Roman empire to extend itself universally by our
 " ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

(q) One of the means made use of by Tigranes to assemble a new army, was to recal Megadates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen years in his name : him he sent orders to join him with all the troops in that country. (r) Syria being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom of right it appertained, as lawful heir of the house of Seleucus, took possession of some part of the country, and reigned there peacefully during four years.

(s) The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was at last formed. It consisted of seventy thousand chosen men, whom Mithridates had exercised well in the Roman discipline. It was about midsummer before it took the field. The two kings took particular care, in all the motions they made, to chuse an advantagious ground for their camp, and to fortify it well, to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it ; nor could all the stratagems he used engage them to come to a battle. Their design was to reduce him gradually ; to harass his troops on their marches, in order to weaken them ;

to

(q) Appian. in Syr. p. 118, 119. (r) Justin. I. 40. c. 2. (s) A. M. 3936. Ant. J. C. 68. Plut. in Lucul. p. 513--515.

to intercept his convoys, and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design; and by four great marches having got before him, posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucullus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, and resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the presence or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a compleat victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that fled; which threw the whole army into such a consternation, that it entirely lost courage; and this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

(t) Lucullus, after this victory, determined to continue his march to Artaxata, which was the certain means to put an end to the war. But as that city was still several days' journey from thence towards the north, and winter approached with its train of snows and storms, the † soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed mount

Taurus,

(t) Dion. Cas. l. 37. p. 3--7.

* Or *Arsania*.

† Noster exercitus, etsi
urbem ex Tigranis regno ce-
perat, & praetissim usus erat se-

cundis, tamen nimiâ longin-
quitate locorum, ac desiderio
fusorum, commovebatur. Cic.
pro lege Mar. n. 23.

Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there the spirit of mutiny began to shew itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known for the invectives of Cicero his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far, as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of seditions: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports against him, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests. He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaritious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of

the

* Mithridates & suam manum qui se ex ejus regno coloniam jam confirmarat, & eo-legerant, & magnis adventitiis multorum

the country joined him again, as well out of hatred to the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people, for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. * So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the rout, pressed Friarius and Sornatus, two other of Lucullus's lieutenancy in that country, with great vigour.

(u) Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates had defeated him, and killed him seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and

(u) A. M. 3937. Ant. J. C. 67.

multorum regum & nationum incopiosis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accepimus; ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes allicant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. *Cic. pro Leg. Manil. n. 24.*

* Itaque tantum vietus est. n. 25.

ficere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.—*Cic. pro leg. Man.*

and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes *, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment : which still more exasperated his soldiers against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with insolence and contempt ; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

S E C T . IV. *Mithridates, taking advantage of the discord which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judaea, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.*

MANIUS Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and

Pontus

* Quæ calamitas tanta fu- sed ex sermone rumor affer-
it, ut eam ad aures L. Lu- ret. Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.
culli, non ex prælio nuntiis,

Pontus for his province, where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

(x) It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a compleat general. But the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest: I mean, address in winning the heart, and making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access; rough in commanding; carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious; was inexorable in punishing offences, and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, and insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves, that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprized to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licentiousness. * He informed them, that Lucullus had

(x) Dion. Cas. l. 35. p. 7.

* In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavitis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confectis erant, dimisit, partem Glabroni tradidit. Ibid. n. 26.

had been accused at Rome of protracting the war for the sake of continuing in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbade them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. (y) Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the Pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the tribunes of the people, named Manilius, passed a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives, as had been granted him in the war against the Pirates: that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire to one man. For all the provinces which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, that included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph, than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern. They were well

(y) A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66, Plut. in Pomp. p. 634. App. p. 238. Dion. Cass. l. 36. p. 70.

well convinced that great wrong was done him, and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But what gave them most pain, and they could not support, was that high degree of power to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other in a particular manner to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, intitled, *For the law of Manilius.* After having demonstrated in the two first parts of his discourse, the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree. He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the public good: "Virtues, by so much the more necessary, says he, as the * Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations, and our allies, in effect of the debauches, avarice, and unheard of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. † Instead of which, the wise, moderate, and

VOL. XII.

K

"irre-

* Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud cæteras nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc annum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. *Num. 61.*

† Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cœlo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere fu-

isse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentia, quod iam nationibus ceteris incredibile, ac falso memorie proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causa maiores suos tum, cum hac temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. *Id. n. 41.*

" irreproachable conduct of Pompey, will make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterestedness of those antient Romans is real and true ; and that it was not without reason, under such magistrates, that nations chose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the suffrages of all the tribes, and Pompey, though absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

(x) We must not imagine, says a very judicious historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who took so much pains to have this law passed, acted from views of the public good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's : he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions : in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself, that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the commonwealth, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republics in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In consequence, it was always his policy to conciliate

conciliate equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

(a) Pompey, who had lately terminated the war with the Pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he received letters to inform him of all the people had decreed in his favour. When his friends, who were present, congratulated him, and expressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his brows, struck his thigh, and cried out as if oppressed by and sorry for that new command; *Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had I not been more happy as a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?*

This is usually enough the language of the ambitious, even of those who are most excessively actuated by that passion. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others, and the public is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction in the new charge conferred upon him. And his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing, was to let the partisans of Lucullus see, that they adhered to a man, who had neither authority nor

K 2 power.

(a) A. M. 7938. Ant. J. C. 66. Plut. in Pomp. p. 634--636. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 22--25. Appian p. 238.

power. (*b*) Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates, for having put to death several of his relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard for such just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessors had entered into solely from the view of the public good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies, who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess, as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to fully, or rather totally eclipse, the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the Great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition, in which they spoke the truth of each other. They parted more incensed, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness

(*b*) Strab. I. 12. p. 557, 558.

Titenes and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus, but not without being long contested.

(c) It was he that first brought cherries to Rome, which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Cerasus, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same, who was surnamed *the God*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed, that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters: those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakned by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army; and to swear, that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phoenicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare however to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain, where he could not be forced; but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing from the nature of the plants, and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how

Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight * leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He reduced him in consequence to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night with all the best troops of his army, having first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him ; and apprehending, that in order to escape, he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night in order of battle. His design was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such intreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day ; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed them above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers, of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and war-

* 150 Stadia.

watlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates (*d*), by changing the termination of her name from the feminine to the masculine. She was mounted that day upon a Persian horse, and wore the habit of a soldier of that nation. She continued to attend the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journeys, or being weary of serving him, though she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortrefs, where the king's treasures, and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison, that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

(e) That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison, and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising an hundred * talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates, who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the

place

(d) Ultra fæminam ferox. Tacit.

(e) Plut. in Pomp. p. 636, 637. Appian. p. 242. Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 25, 26.

* An hundred thousand crowns.

place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors, sent to him by Mithridates, into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person in whose faith he could confide; that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he should be satisfied: that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man, whom none could conquer; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superior to all others.

When

* *Mox ipse supplex & præfens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque nullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cuius se fidei commisurus foret, quam Cn. Pompeium. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secundam,*

cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei in honeste a iquem summitti, quem fortuna super omnes extulisset. V.l. Part. l. 2. c. 37.

When he arrived on horseback near the entrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot ; telling him, that no stranger had ever been known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors ; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right; and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after referred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited his father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father ; and as he had not shewed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference, as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not however entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans * six thousand talents for the charges of the war he had made against them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that he should reign in his antient kingdom Armenia major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death ; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena, without which it had been impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with these conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had entertained chimerical hopes, could not relish a decree, which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view ; and upon his

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* About 90000 l. Sterling.

absolutely refusing to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards, having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he put him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, That the younger Tigranes was more related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty * drachmas, a † thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each || tribune; and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. This had been pardonable, had he not added to it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophena and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

(f) After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northward in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the ‡ Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him: but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

(g) The

(f) Plut. in Pomp. p. 637. Dio. Caff. l. 36. p. 28--33.
Appian. p. 24. 245.

* About 22 s. † About 25 l. Sterling. || About
250 l. Sterling. ‡ Called Cyrus also by some authors.

(g) The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of massy gold; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the questors for the public treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Olthaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cofis, the brother of king Orodæs. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows, confined himself to Pompey, and spurring furiously up to him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his spear, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodæs to buy a second peace, upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the year before, at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his sons as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. The kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to one of his sons named Machares. But that young prince

(g) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope, and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, and had inviolably observed it till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route, who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Pompey having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus king of Comagena. He went into Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlosyria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant-generals. (b) Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eu-sèbes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who by Lucullus's permission had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession when Tigranes abandoned it, came to solicit him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus, was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their

victory;

(b) Appian, in Syr. p. 133. Justin. l. 40. c. 2.

victory ; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country ; and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. (i) In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolomæus Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

(k) Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time.

(l) A fine contention between the love of a father and the duty of a son was seen at this time : a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murthers and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable ; and he would have * persisted in refusing the scepter, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has in-

VOL. XII.

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stanced

(i) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. (k) Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639. (l) Val. Max. I. 5. c. 7.

* Nec ullum finem tam tas Pompeii adfuerit. Vnde egregium certamen habuisset Max. nisi patrise voluntati auctori*

stanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in consequence, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Aspis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, that he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendring that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the Strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus, and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had of greatest value in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, wrote by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcaeus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the public and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

(m) His memoirs of Physic were also found there, which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good grammarian, one of his freed-men; and they were afterwards made public in that language. For amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he was very skilful in medicines. It was he, who invented the excellent anti-

dote,
(m) Plin. l. 25. c. 20.

ALEXANDER's Successors.

111

note, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

(n) Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such regulations in the affairs of the country, as the state of them would admit. As soon as the spring returned, he marched back into Syria for the same purpose. He did not think it adviseable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprize, in which he would have run great risque of perishing. So that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner, as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardor into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the Red-Sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed, there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the Red-Sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia upon the Orontus free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the Red-Sea. But an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

L 2

Some

(n) A. M. 3940. Ant. J. C. 64. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5, 6. Plut. in Pomp. p. 639--641. Dio. Cas. l. 37. p. 346, App. p. 246--251.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied, that then he should also come in person as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the spot, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose, he went to pass some time at Amisus, the antient capital of the country. There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publickly charged and reproached Lucullus, that subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated ; and now fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to supply with new forces. At that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interest during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Caesar,

and

and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero to defend him.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the Moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comāians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place; which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him, who had commanded in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece in his first war with the Romans, and who being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to the son; in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus; Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, took the advantage of his absence to make incursions into Syria, which very much distressed the inhabitants. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence he continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but important advices interrupted those designs.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to solicit that people to join him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always

credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the flame of the revolt among the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the Pirates would soon repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his aid, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he revolved in his mind.

But as to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries, now called Little Tartary, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and Po: the idea alone of so rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into such a terror, that to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king, who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived, that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

(o) Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the

poison

(o) A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him by expresses dispatched on purpose from Pontus with letters from his lieutenants. Those expresses arriving with their lances crowned with lawrels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory or news of great importance and advantage, the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans, and thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent; full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero

* Vir neque filendus ne-
que dicendus sine cura: bello
acerrimus, virtute eximius:
aliquando fortuna semper ani-
mo maximus: confiliis dux,
miles manu: odio in Roma-
nos Annibal, *Vet. Patere.*
l. 2. c. 18.

Cicero says of Mithridates; that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings : (p) *Ille rex post Alexandrum maximus.* It is certain, that the Romans never had such a king in arms against them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing ; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings ; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress ; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again upon the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general ; that idea does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first ; but against generals, without either merit or experience. When Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear that he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain, he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders, and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

(q) Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence, to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Arias, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judaea employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him ;

(p) Academ. Quest. l. 4. n. 3. (q) A. M. 3941.
Ant. J. C. 63. Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 4, 8. & de Bell. Jud. 1, 5. Plut. in Pomp. p. 641. Appian. p. 250. Dio Cass. l. 35. p. 35 & 36.

him ; no doubt to convince Pompey by his own eyes of the death of an enemy, who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents ; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those, to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Telaurus, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept : his principal arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold ; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosporus, in reward of his parricide, declared him friend and ally of the Roman people, and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas, (about 37 l. sterling) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum, to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents ; that is to say, about two million, four hundred thousand pounds ; besides which, he had twenty thousand more, (three millions) to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

(r) His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot : amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus ; Olthaces king

of

of Colchos ; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia ; the sister ; five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, scepter, and gold busto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article contains the history of thirty-five years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolomæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt ; that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

SECT. I. *Ptolomæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is declared the friend and ally of the Roman people by the credit of Caesar and Pompey, which he purchases at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the heads of the commonwealth for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's ; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother very young, succeed him.*

(s) **W**E have seen in what manner Ptolomæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue, nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time, to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will ; but to shew that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and

(s) A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 63. Vol. XI.

and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions; and it had been a very unsecure establishment to possess a state, to which they believed they had so just a claim; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects, which do not suit their condition; though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *player on the flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

(t) He did not, however, despair of success in his undertakings. All the methods which he took for the attainment of his end, were a long time ineffectual; and it is likely they would always have been so, if Cæsar had never been consul. That ambitious spirit, who believed all means and expedients just that conduced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome, at as dear a price as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him for obtaining the people's consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost nine hundred thousand pounds. At this price, he was declared the friend and ally of the Roman people.

(u) Though

(t) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 54. Dio. Cass. l. 39. p. 97. Strab. l. 17. p. 796.

(u) Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus, as an antient appanage of Egypt, and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

(x) Ptolemy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of the Roman grandeur, or rather haughtiness. Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty, that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprized, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world, to expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to suffer a thousand indignities. He did not scruple

(u) A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58.
Cato Utic p. 776.

(x) Plut. in

couple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their avidity. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects ; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed, in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city reduced to sollicite his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

(y) Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were founded, was not at Rome : he was at that time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the money he had received from that prince, in conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards cultivated his friendship by various services, which he had rendered him during the war with Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand horse for him in that of Judæa. Having therefore made his complaint to the senate of the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that they should oblige them to return to their obedience, as the Romans were engaged to do by the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction obtained him their compliance. The consul Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot, was charged with the re-establishment of Ptolemy upon the throne.

(z) But before his consulship expired, the Egyptians, having been informed that their king was not dead as they

Vot. XII.

M

believed,

(y) Dio. Cass. l. 39. p. 97, 98. Plin. l. 33. c. 10. Cic. ad Famil. Id. in Piso. n. 48--50. Id. pro Cæl. n. 23, 24.

(z) A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

believed, and that he was gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy, to justify their revolt before the senate. That embassy consisted of more than an hundred persons, of whom the chief was a celebrated philosopher, named Dion, who had considerable friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received advice of this, found means to destroy most of those ambassadors, either by poison or the sword, and intimidated those so much, whom he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they were afraid either to acquit themselves of their commission, or to demand justice for so many murders. But as all the world knew this cruelty, it made him as highly odious as he was before contemptible : and his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest and most self-interested senators, became so public, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius the Stoic philosopher was the first in it, who declared himself against Ptolemy. Upon his request it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear ; and Ptolemy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought, that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

This flight, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, daring young man, who did not want eloquence,

spence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

(a) In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which importeth: *If a king of Egypt, bearing occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: but however, you shall not give him any troops. For if you do, you will suffer and hazard much.*

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending that the king's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited to the people, and obliged them by the authority, which his office of tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the public, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express not to make all the impression upon the vulgar, which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous for the commonwealth to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. No body doubted, but that it had been contrived for the

present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the Assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolemy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reason, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force a person of great authority. And Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen since Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. (b) The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that proconsul do against a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbid by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went however with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice;

(b) Cic. ad Famil. l. I. epist. 7.

vice ; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus. " You are the best judge, says he, as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess yourself of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own and the honour of the commonwealth, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place ; in order, that after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. * In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so important as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity, upon which Cicero valued himself ? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprize, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented : " That all the world would judge of his conduct from the event : that therefore he had only to take his measures well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."

M 3

Gabinius,

* Ita fore ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum initia senatus censuit ; & sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

† Ex eventu homines de

too consilio esse judicatuos, videmus — Nos quidem hoc sentimus ; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum ; sin dubium non esse conandum.

Gabinius, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Tho' every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. (c) He had already passed the Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when Ptolemy joined him with letters from Pompey, their common friend and patron, who had very lately been declared consul for the ensuing year. By those letters he conjured Gabinius to do his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince should make him, with regard to his re-establishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolemy, whose entreaties flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprize, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolemy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or fifteen hundred thousand pounds, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

(d) Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had

(c) A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55. App. in Syr. p. 120, & in Parth. 134. Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

(d) Strab. l. 12. p. 538. Id. l. 17. p. 794, & 795. Dio. l. 39. p. 115--117. Cic. in Pison. n. 49, 50.

had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned : They brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was, to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

(e) Gabinius, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly into Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium. For they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth, as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonida. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory, which possessed Antony. For Ptolemy was no sooner entered Pelusium, than out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolemy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only

(e) Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.

only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time in consequence for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expence of the public. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the rout. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans, who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy, which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterwards got rid, in the same manner, of all the rich persons, who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for the confiscation of their estates, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

(f) The

(f) The Egyptians suffered all these violencies without murmuring. But some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat, neither the fear of Gabinus, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country ; for cats were of that number.

(g) Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid when he was entirely reinstated ; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, tho' one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends, and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt, as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurerment, in a country-house of his near Alba.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To compleat his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Ptolemy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he had lent him for that use ; of having dishonoured his quality of Roman knight, by the employment he had accepted in Egypt ; and lastly, of having shared in the money, which Gabinus brought from thence, with whom it was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's discourse in his defence, which we still have, is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and perfidy of this unworthy king.

(h) Ptolemy

(f) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 74, 75.
Rabir. Posth.

(g) Cic. pro

(b) Ptolemy Auletes died in the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt, about four years after his re-establishment. He left two sons and two daughters. He gave his crown to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by his will, that they should marry together, according to the custom of that house; and govern jointly. And because they were both very young (for the daughter, who was the eldest, was only seventeen years of age,) he left them under the tuition of the Roman senate. This was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it remains for us to relate. (i) We find the people appointed Pompey the young king's guardian, who some years after so basely ordered him to be put to death.

SECT. II. *Pothinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her younger brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.*

(k) **L**ITTLE is known of the beginning of Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas

(b) A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. Cæsar de bello civ. I. 3.

(i) Eutrop. I. 6. (k) A. M. 3956. Ant. J. C. 48.

Plut. in Pomp. p. 659--662. Id. in Cæs. p. 730, 731.

Appian. de bell. civ. p. 480--484. Cæs. de bell. civ. I. 3.

Dio. I. 42. p. 200--206.

the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra in the king's name of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine, to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt ; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Cæsius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make. Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of three unworthy persons, that governed the prince than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion ; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods, and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reason was, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy : if they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death, by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship

and

and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt : for said he, according to the proverb, *Dead men don't bite.*

This advice carried ir, as being in their fense the wisest and most safe. Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it in execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death ; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, *Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before,* he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freed men gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched funeral-pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before hey eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea : This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chace them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whether he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him ; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest

rest of his army in Greece and Asia Minor, under his lieutenant generals with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. * As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle, that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the life, and do services to some citizen, who had born arms against him.

The commotions increased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar perceiving, that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the

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money

* Cæsar confisus fama re- atque omnem sibi locum tu-
rum gestarum, infirmis auxi- tum fore existimabat. Cæs.
lijs proficisci non dubitaverat;

money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and had been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder. Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolemy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen, or wooden vessels; insinuating underhand, that Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate; in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independant, acknowledged no superior, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to these complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then vested in his person, in quality of consul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister.

sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive, than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those she employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took no body with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding, that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of cloaths. Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloth, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person, had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolemy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolemy saw plainly, that his judge was become his adversary; and having learnt that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolemy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters

of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been over-powered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it : from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra, into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will ; and that Ptolemy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people ; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury ; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason of his making that concession.

(1) The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend, that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force and through fear, which would not long subsist ; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw, that the people came into his views, he made Achillas advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achillas, who had twenty thousand good troops,

despised

(1) A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 47.

despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should overpower him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him in consequence from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by posting himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the Quay, that the flames catched the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to literature!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring counties for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to command in Asia minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops, which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number, till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other

works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolemy all this while was in Cæsar's hands ; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians ; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be accused, of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans, which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him the administration of all other affairs ; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar during the continuance of this war.

For instance he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was

* There are to this day exactly the same kind of caves at Alexandria, which are filled once a year, as of old. They're not's travels.

was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there was no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was taken up either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications, with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar, to be stopt up; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinius had sent by sea, was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet, to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria; and had not the night came on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of

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the gods. The All of the Romans was at stake, to whom there was no resource left, if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory,

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the Isle of Pharos, where he landed his troops after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship, in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people, who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians seeing, that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least dissembled such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince, to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments of peace and equity; to redress the evils, with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him by giving him his liberty; and to shew his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. *

Pto-

lemy,

* Regius animus disciplinis rem cœpit, ne se demitteret: fallacissimis eruditus, ne à non enim regnum ipsum sibi gentis fuæ moribus degeneraret, flens orare contra Cæsa- conspectu Cæsar is esse jucundius. *Hiro. de Bell. Alex.*

Ptolemy, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of anxiety. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing to the aid of Cæsar.

(m) He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to march them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he soon formed a considerable army. Antipater the Idumæan contributed very much towards it. He not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cœlophrygia to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery for the taking of this city. For he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to espouse Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of that news, the Jews of Memphis did the same, and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolemy

(m) Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 14, & 15.

Ptolemy detached a flying army to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way: but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army, in order to overpower the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them; and as soon as he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a compleat victory. Ptolemy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat was drowned in the Nile. Alexandria, and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion, which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April, according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. He arrived there only about the end of July the year before.

(n) Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused

(n) Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 52.

refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her ; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people, not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitation of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoe, whom he had taken in this war, to Rome, and she walked in his triumph in chains of gold ; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence, at least it was there Anthony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed ; and ordered a column to be erected, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven with the decree confirming them.

(o) What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of this conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici* ; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*.

(o) Plut in Cæs. p. 731.

* This was a city of Cappadocia;

S E C T. III. Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gains an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is compleat. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and for form only, had associated her brother with her, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. (p) When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In this interval, Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators; at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; and the Triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, had been formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

(q) Cleopatra declared herself without hesitation for the Triumvirs. She gave Albinius, the consul Dolabella's

lieu-

(p) A. M. 3961. Ant. J. C. 43. Joseph. Antiq. xv. 4. Porphyr. p. 226. (q) Appian. l. 3. p. 576. l. 4. p. 623. l. 5. p. 675.

lieutenant, four legions ; which were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's armies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing, but prevented by storms from setting out. (r) Cassius made himself master of those four legions, and frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which she as often refused. She sailed some time after with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

(s) Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius in the battle of Philippi, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the Triumvirate there, the kings, princes, and ambassadors of the East, came thither in throngs to make their court to him. He was informed, that the governors of Phœnicia, which was in the dependance of the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to answer for the conduct of her governors ; and sent one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to him in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra, having awakened passions in him, till then concealed or asleep, enflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes, that she could also very easily captivate Antony : and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world ; whereas she was going to appear before Antony at an age, wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit and address to treat and conduct the

(r) A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42. (s) A. M. 3963.
Ant. J. C. 41. Plut. in Anton. p. 926, 927. Diod. l. 48.
p. 371. Appian. de bell. civ. l. 5. p. 671.

greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five and twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments ; and with still higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey ; but she only laughed at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was equipage more splendid and magnificent than hers. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, haut-boys, harps, and other such instruments of music, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, that were covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her ; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domestics. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade, to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself ; and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty to go thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not

to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem agreeable day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever endeavours he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendor as disposition of the feast, and was the first to railly the parimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuosity and elegance of Cleopatra's. The queen finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation, attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and features, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the very sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and gained so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time, he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

(t) Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still out-did that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom,

O 2 had

(t) Athen. I. 4. p. 147, 148.

had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts, happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relate. Cleopatra jesting according to custom upon Antony's table, as very indifferently served and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend * more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed, that she only boasted, that it was impossible, and that she could never make it appear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence; demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I can't spend a million only upon myself. + A second table was brought, and according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it, but a single cup of vinegar. Antony surprized at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that ever were seen, each of which was valued at about fifty thousand pounds. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into || the vinegar, and after having made it melt,

swallowed

* Centies H-S. Hoc est centies centena millies fester-tium. Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52500 l. sterlinc

+ The antients changed their tables at every course.

|| Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things. Aceti succus

domitor rerum, as Pliny says of it, l. 33. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Clodius the son of Æsopus) bad done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole

swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other. * Plancus stopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

(u) Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in games, amusements, and voluptuousness ; treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences : which may be judged from the following circumstance.

(x) A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physic, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself with his own eyes about them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprize at the great number of guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all : but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. For, added he, it often happens, that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into

O 3

some

(u) A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40. (x) Plut. in Anton. p. 928.

sole pleasure of making the expense of his meals enormous. Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ, Scilicet ut decies solidum exforberet, aceto Diluit insignem baccam. Hor. l. 2. Sat. 5.

* This other pearl was af-

terwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria ; and having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary that it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.

some conversation, that diverts him. For that reason not one, but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat.

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, nor quitted him day or night, but was always employed in diverting and retaining him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and catched nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of their large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times, with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprize at Antony's good fortune; but told her friends privately what had passed, and invited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, *Leave the line, good general to us, the kings and queens of Pbaros and Canopus: your busines is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and kings.*

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's

death,

death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. (y) But having began his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

(z) This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning, and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which Antony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament, she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. (a) She knew besides several other languages; whereas the kings, who had reigned before her in Egypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were

no

(y) A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. (z) A. M. 3966.
Ant. J. C. 38. Epiphan. de mensl. & pond. (a) Plut.
in Anton. p. 927.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome, and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

(b) It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broke in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. *Is it true, said that prince at table, talking of this story, that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?* If it were, replied the veteran with a smile, *I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person, who made the first attack upon her, which has since stood me in great stead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper.*

(c) Antony, believing he had made every thing secure in those countries, led back his troops. From his impatience to join Cleopatra, he hastened his march so much, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, and the continual snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra: and as she was slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with cloaths, and great sums of money for his troops.

Oætavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly per-

(b) Plin. I. 33. c. 23.
J. C. 35. Plut. in Anton. p. 239--242.

(c) A. M. 3969. Ant.

perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and gravity of manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to die for love of Antony; and with that view, made herself lean and wan, by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprize and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to come no further, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried, she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would neither permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony, than what related to her, she conjured him to renounce her interests.

She

She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed most confidence. Those flatterers represented to him in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved, and lived for him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

(d) It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

(e) After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. He unbent his mind at leisure, after his great fatigues, in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed night and day. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of the banquets,

seeing

(d) A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34. (e) A. M. 3971.
Ant. J. C. 33.

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, rium petiit: & promisit Antonius. Flot. l. 4. c. 21.

seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, drest in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a scimetar after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones : he had a diadem on his brows, and a scepter of gold in his hand ; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe, made of the precious linnen appropriated to the use of the goddess Ifis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolemy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony, and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Cœlo-syria, in conjunction with her son Cæsario. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes Kings of Kings, and declared till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it ; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were drest after the mode of the several countries, over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a

train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians ; and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis ; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with fifteen legions, to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him ; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party ; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Cæsar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side ; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army : She, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, might have learnt in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his passion and vanity.

From Ephesus he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed the time in feasting and pleasure. The kings, in their train, exhausted themselves, in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

(f) It

(f) It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened, related by Pliny. Whatever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly well knew her character for dissimulation, and that she was capable of the blackest crimes, he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquets, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible, how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the antients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him: *I am the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whether I wanted either the opportunity or reason for such an action.* Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem, Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

(g) The new consuls, Caius Sosius, and Domitius Aenobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Cæsar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission ; and declared publickly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree, and act whatever he thought proper for his own interests, or contrary to those of Antony.

When Antony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party ; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Cæsar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Cæsar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side : for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Cæsar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies, sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave no body in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with tears ; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty

(g) A. M. 3972. Ant. J. C. 32. Plut. in Anton.
p. 942--955.

petty differences ; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their resentment about it ; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war ; she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope, that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the Vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by (b) two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The Vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care ; alledging in their excuse the faith of deposites, which they were obliged to observe ; and were determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the Forum, these three articles were read in it : I. That Antony acknowledged Cæfario the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of Kings of Kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will to be a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Antony more odious to the people. And indeed, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt ?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra : it was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, tho' actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies to the commonwealth, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height ; so that those superb vessels upon the sea, might have been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for compleatly manning those heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do service.

On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person ; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold ; its sails of purple ; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid.

* queen,

* queen, drunk with her fortune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the Capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendor was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundusium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

(i) Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season would admit, took the field both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian gulph in Epirus. Antony's bravest

P 3 and

(i) A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31.

* Dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus & imperio parabat
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum : quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunaque dulci
Ebria. Hor. Od. 37. l. 1.

*Whilst drunk with fortune's beady wine,
Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,
The haughty queen conceives the wild design,
So much her vain ambition charms,
With her polluted band of supple slaves,
Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,
The Capitol in dust to level low, [blow!
And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal*

and most experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas, a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied upon. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it, without being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships, than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

* The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulph of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in the sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightned with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, that consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting even himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The

* *The 4th before the nones of September.*

The next day Cæsar seeing his victory compleat, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Antony, having entered the admirall galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it ; where, leaning his elbows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage ; reflecting, with profound melancholy, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and two and twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, shew surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

When she approached that port, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. She therefore caused her ships to be crowned, as if she was returned victorious ; and no sooner landed,

than

* Promontory of Laconia.

than she caused all the great lords of her kingdom whom she suspected, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her, when they were informed of her defeat. Antony found her in the midst of these bloody executions.

(k) Soon after she formed another very extraordinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's hands, who she foresaw would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried into the Red sea, over the isthmus between them, which is no more than thirty leagues broad ; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her designs.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror, and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love, and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his ; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures ; her person, to adorn his triumph ; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly

(k) A. M. 3974. Ant. J. C. 30.

pressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement, it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and carelessness of Cleopatra, and with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation, not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals in the prisons condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment; and that those, which were gentle, brought an easy, but slow death; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the aspic was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; and which, throwing the person bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life;

life ; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendor and magnificence, above what she had ever instanced before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him, not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governor to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! the most odious of vices were united in her person ; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment. Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried ; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood ; as if she intended to raise a fu-

neral

neral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter, and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous sally, and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour ; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him ; he came, compleatly armed as he was, to throw himself at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised ; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited, without making any motion, to see the success of that attack : but was much astonished, when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him, of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signalizing himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. Seized with rage and despair, he then flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artificial princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities ; and struck with the idea of her death, passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor, in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that

that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know, that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprize; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength; the people below, who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her cloaths upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face close to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms; and that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no disgrace for a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour, to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train,

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and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had however a conversation with him, without letting him enter the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through cracks. They talked a considerable time together, during which she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interests to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar; who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the mean while Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers, who were with him, went down to the gate where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprize; *Ob unfortunate Cleopatra, you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her girdle. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, *You wrong yourself and Cæsar too, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his goodness and clemency.* At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Epaphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire: he instructed Proculeius at the same time to ask the queen what she desired of him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leaned with an air of familiarity, to signify publickly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: The first, upon account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Ariæus one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning: but when he believed he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed for her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, thought

she had nothing on but a single tunic, she rose immediately, and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That natural grace and lofty mien, which derived from her beauty, were, however, not wholly extinct ; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection; as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony..

The chamber where she received him was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. My lord, said she to him, pointing to those pictures, behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown. Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it ; see also, said she, kissing them, the dear testimonies of his love. She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals, with moving exclamations, and passionate glances ; but she employed those arts with no success; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation ; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from not discerning that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury ; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in revenge she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt.

And

And in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed part of her most valuable effects ; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows on the face. Then turning towards Cæsar, Is it not a horrible thing, said she to him, that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domestics should accuse me before you of retaining some woman's jewels, not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia ; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess ?

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved : and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where ; and besides, that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bathe that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse, as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar ; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspic, which was concealed amongst the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it ; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there appeared so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. Thus all Cæsar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote to him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

* That princess was too haughty, and too much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels.

* Ausa & jacentem vilere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpo combiberet venenum,
Deliberatâ morte ferocior :
Sævis Liburnis seilicet invidens

Private

wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the aspic glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a praefect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred four-score and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681, to 3974.

*Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.*

HOR. Od. 37. lib. x.

*Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul;
Calmly she looks from her superior woe,
That can both death and fear controul;
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And joys to feel his poison in her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side.
His pompous triumph to attend;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrows end.*

Conclusion

Conclusion of the antient history.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and antient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states, separate, and in a manner entirely distinct, from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those which have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembered, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms, which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world; in a word, of all that human greatness has of most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration! All these, by an happy concurrence, generally unite in it: height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment; the excellent taste of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the Natural and the True; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of every kind does it not present to our view! What powerful, what glorious kings! What great captains! What famous conquerors! What wise magistrates! What learned philosophers! What admirable legislators! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish

astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extasy at the view of so many shining virtues, the Supreme Judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them, but trifles, meanness, vanity, and pride; and, whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternizing themselves, if that were possible, God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his purposes, infinitely superior to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him: *be seeth from everlasting to everlasting (l).* He has assigned all empires their fate and duration. In all the different revolutions, we have seen that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue, which Nebuchadnosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus? *(m) A small stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them, and the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophesy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who descended to cloath himself with flesh and blood,

(l) Eccles. xxxix. 19.

(m) Dan. c. ii. v. 34, 35.

blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristicks of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples, in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility ; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us : *(n) He went forth conquering and to conquer. His work and mission are, to set up a kingdom for his father, which shall never be destroyed ; and the kingdom which shall not be left to other people ; like those of which we have seen in the history ; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their puissance, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them. There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even during their own lives. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. *(o) All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth. He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of men. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.*

Whilst

(n) Apoc. vi. 2.

(o) Matth. xxviii. 18.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth ; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it ; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determine our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end, than the formation of the bodies of the elect, which augments and tends daily towards perfection.

When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect ; (p) *Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father ; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.* God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose king is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

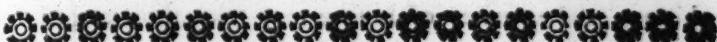
(p) 1 Cor. xv. 24.

The End of the Twelfth VOLUME.



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CHRONOLOGICAL T A B L E.



CHRONOLOGY is the Knowlege of Times. It shews to what year the events related in history are to be referred. The years for measuring the duration of time are either solar or lunar.

The solar year is that space of time between one equinox, and another of the same denomination the next year : for instance, from the vernal equinox to the vernal equinox following, which contains 365 days, five hours and forty-nine minutes.

The lunar year is composed of twelve lunar months, each consisting of twenty-nine days, twelve hours and forty-four minutes ; in all 354 days, eight hours and forty-eight minutes.

Both of these years are called Astronomical, to distinguish them from that vulgarly used, which is termed Civil or Political.

Tho' nations may not agree among themselves in the manner of determining their years; some regulating them by the sun's motion, and others by the moon's ; they however generally use the solar year in *Chronology*. It seems at first, that as the lunar years are shorter than the solar, that inequality should produce some error in chronological calculations ; but the people who used lunar years, added a certain number of intercalary days, to make them agree with the solar ; which reconcile them with each other, or if there be any difference, it may be neglected, when the question is only to determine the year, in which a fact has happened.

In *Chronology* there are certain times distinguished by some great event, to which all the rest are referred.

These are called *Epochs*, from a Greek word which signifies to stay, because we stay there to consider, as from a resting place, all that has happened before or after, in order to avoid Anachronisms, that is to say, those errors which produce confusion of times.

The choice of such events, as may serve for Epochs, is arbitrary, and a writer of history may take those as best suit his plan.

When we begin to compute years from one of these points distinguished by a considerable event, the numeration of such years is called an *Aera*. There are almost as many *Aeras* as there have been different nations. The principal are those of *the World*, of *Jesus Christ*, of the *Olympiads*, and of *Rome*. I should gladly have used all the four in the Chronological Table at the end of my history; but the narrow compass of pages confines me to the two most famous, that of *the World*, and that of *Jesus Christ*.

Every body knows that *the Olympiads* derive their origin from the Olympic games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus near the city of Olympia. These games were so solemn, that Greece made them her Epoch for computing her years. By *Olympiad* is meant the space of four years complete, being the time elapsed between one celebration of games and another. The first used by chronologers begins according to Usher, in the summer of the year of *the World* 3228, before Christ 776. When the period of an event is reckoned by the *Olympiads*, authors say the first, second, or third year of such an Olympiad; which being once known, it is easy to find the year of the world to which the same fact is to be referred; and in like manner when the year of the world is known, it is easy to find that of the Olympiad which agrees with it.

Rome was built, according to Varro's chronology, in the year of the world 3251, and the 753d before Jesus Christ. Cato dates the foundation of that city two years later, in the year of the world 3253, before Jesus Christ 751. I shall follow the opinion of the latter in my Roman history. The years from this *Epoch* are called indifferently years of Rome, or from the foundation of the city. The

The Julian period is also a noted *Aera* in Chronology, chiefly used for reckoning the years before Christ. I am going to explain wherein this period consists, and its use: but first I must give the reader an idea of the three *Cycles* of which it is composed.

By the word *Cycle*, the revolution of a certain number of years is understood.

The Solar *Cycle* is a term of twentyeight years, which includes all the variations that the Sundays and days of the week admit, that is to say, at the end of twentyeight years the seven first letters of the alphabet, which are used in the calendar for noting the day of the week, and which are called Dominical letters, return to the same order in which they were at first. To understand what I have now said, it must be observed, that if the year had only fiftytwo weeks, there would be no change in the order of the Dominical letters; but as it has a day more, and two in leapyear, this produces all the variations, included in the space of twenty eight years, of which the Solar *Cycle* consists.

The Lunar *Cycle*, called also the Golden Number, is the revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns, within near an hour and an half, to the same point with the sun, and begins its lunations again in the same order as at first. We are indebted for the invention of the *Cycle*, to Methon, a famous Athenian astronomer. Before the invention of the Epacts, it was used for marking the days of the new moon in the calendar.

Beside these two *Cycles*, chronologers admit a third called *Indiction*. This is a revolution of fifteen years, of which the first is named the *first Indiction*, the second the *second Indiction*, and so on to the fifteenth, after which they begin again to count the first.

The first *Indiction* is generally supposed to have began three years before the birth of Christ.

If these three cycles, that is to say 28, 19 and 15, are multiplied by each other, the product will be 7980, which is called the *Julian period*.

One of the properties of this period is to give the three characteristic cycles of each year, that is to say, the current year of each of the three cycles: for example, as the vulgar *Aera* commences at the year 4714 of the *Julian period*, if that number is divided by 28, what remains * after the division, shews the solar cycle of that year. In the same manner the lunar cycle and the indiction may be found. It is demonstrated that the three numbers which express these three *Cycles*, cannot be found again in the same order in any other year of the *Julian period*. It is the same in respect to the cycles of other years.

If we trace this period back to its first year when the three cycles began, of which it is composed, we shall find it precede the creation of the world 710 years, supposing the creation to precede the vulgar *Aera* only 4004 years.

This period is called *Julian*, because it agrees with the years of Julius Cæsar. Scaliger invented it to reconcile the systems that divided chronologers as to the space of time elapsed since the beginning of the world. Some believe that only 4004 years are to be reckoned before *Christ*; others give more extent to that space: these variations disappear when the Julian period is used, for all agree as to the year in which it began, and that the first year of the vulgar *Aera* falls in the 4714th of that period. Thus in the Julian period there are two fixed points, which unite all systems, and reconcile all chronologers.

Tis easy to find the year of the *Julian period*, that answers to any year of the vulgar *Aera* of the world: for as the beginning of the *Julian period* precedes that *Aera* 710 years, by adding that number to the year proposed of the *Aera* of the world, we have the year of the *Julian period* answering to it. For instance, we know that the battel of Arbela was fought in the year of the world 3673; if to that

* I say what remains, and not the quotient, as some authors do; for the quotient expresses the number of Cycles elapsed since the beginning of the period, and what remains after the division, shews the year of the current Cycle.

that number we add 710, it will be 4383, which number expresses the year of the Julian period, to which the battle of Arbela is to be referred.

It remains to say a few words upon the order I have observed in my Chronological table. At first I proposed to make as many columns as there are different nations in my book, whose history falls out in the same times, and to place them all in the same line with each other, that all the events of the same year might be seen at one view: but not having sufficient room to place so many columns side by side with each other, I found I should be obliged to leave too many blank spaces, which would have greatly lengthened the table, and swelled the work. I therefore chose to separate the Carthaginians and Syracusans, and to give their chronology apart. As the histories of those two people is so interwove with each other, it hath very little reference to that of other nations of whom I have treated.

The reader knows that I have hitherto avoided all chronological disputes, and he will not now expect such inquiries: I shall generally follow Archbishop Usher, who is the guide I have chose for this subject.

186 CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M.

ASSYRIA.

Ant.

J. C.

1800. *Nimrod*, founder of the first Assyrian empire. 2204.

Ninus, son of Nimrod.

Semiramis, she reigned 42 years.

Ninyas.

The history of those Princes who reigned for thirty generations after Ninyas is unknown, except Phul and Sardanapalus.

T A B L E.

187

E G Y P T.

A. M.

1816. *Menes, or Meſraim,*
first king of Egypt.

*Buſiris.**Oſymandias.**Uchoreus.**Moeris.*

1915.

1920. The shepherd kings
seize the lower Egypt,
and reign 260 years.

2084. Abraham enters E-
gypt, where Sarah is
in great danger from
one of the shepherd-
kings.

2148.

2179. *Tetbmofis* expels the
shepherd kings, and
reigns in the Lower
Egypt.

2276. Joseph is carried in-
to Egypt, and sold to
Potiphar.

2298. Jacob goes into E-
gypt with his family.

2427. *Rameſſes - Miāmum*
begins to reign in
Egypt. He persecutes
the Israelites.

2448. *Cecrops* carries a co-
lony from Egypt, and
founds the kingdom
of Athens.

G R E E C E.

Ant.

J. C.

2188.

- Foundation of the 2089
kingdom of Sicyon.

2084.

1920.

- Foundation of the 1856.
kingdom of Argos.
Deluge of Ogyges in
Attica.

1825.

1728.

1706.

1577.

- Foundation of the 1556.
kingdom of Athens by
Cecrops. He insti-
tutes the Areopagus.

2494. *Amenophis*, the eldest son of Rameses, succeeds him. 1510.

2513. The Israelites quit Egypt. Amenophis is drowned in the Redsea. 1491.

Sesostris, son and successor to Amenophis. He divides Egypt into thirty nomes or governments; renders Ethiopia tributary, conquers Asia, and subjects the Scythians as far as the Iaxartes. On his return into Egypt he kills himself after a reign of thirtythree years.

2547. *Pheron*. In his time the Nile rose above 1457. eighteen cubits.

2800. *Proteus*. In his reign Paris is driven into Egypt on his return to Troy with Helen. 1264.

Rhamphinitis.

Cheops.

Chephren.

Mycerinus.

Alycbris.

The six preceding reigns contained 170 years, but it is hard to assign the particular duration of each.

2991. *Pbarob* king of Egypt gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon. 3013.

3026. *Sesac*, otherwise called Sesonchis. It was 978. with him that Jeroboam took refuge.

T A B L E.

189

A. M.

G R E E C E.

Ant.

J. C.

2488. *Craneus*, successor to Cecrops. In his reign 1516.
was Deucalion's flood.

Foundation of the Lacedemonian kingdom,
Lelex is the first king.

2530. *Danaus*, brother of Sesostris, leaves Egypt 1474.
and retiring into the Peloponnesus, makes
himself master of Argos.

Perseus, the fifth successor to Danaus, hav-
ing unfortunately killed his grandfather, aban-
dons Argos, and founds the kingdom of Mycenæ.

2628. *Sisyphus*, the son of Æolus, makes himself 1376.
master of Corinth.

2710. The descendants of Sisyphus are expelled 1294.
Corinth by the Heraclidæ.

2720. *Ægeus*, the son of Pandion, king of Attica. 1284.
The expedition of the Argonauts is dated in
the reign of this prince.

2800. The Heraclidæ subdue the Peloponnesus, 1204.
which they are obliged to leave soon after.

2820. Troy taken by the Greeks. 1184.

2900. The Heraclidæ reinvoke Peloponnesus, and 1104.
seize Sparta, where the brothers Eurysthenes
and Procles reign together.

2934. Institution of the Archons at Athens. Me- 1070.
don son of Codrus is the first.

2949. *Cadmus* builds the city of Thebes, and 1055.
makes it the seat of his government.

190 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. EGYPT. GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.
971.

3033. *Sesac* marches against Jerusalem, and conquers Judea.

3063. *Zera* king of Egypt makes war with *Afa* king of Judah.

Anyfis. In his reign *Sabacus* king of Ethiopia subdues Egypt; reigns there 50 years, after which he retires, and leaves the kingdom to *Anyfis*.

3120.

Lycurgus.

884.

3160.

Homer. Hesiod lived 844. about the same time.

3210.

Caranus founds the 794. kingdom of Macedonia.

3228.

Beginning of the common 776. *Æra of Olympiads.*

3253. Foundation of Rome.

751.

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

I return to the chronology of Assyria,
which I discontinued, because from
Ninyas to about this time, nothing is
known of their history.

A S S Y R I A.

3233. *Phut*, the king of Nineveh who repented 771.
upon Jonah's preaching.

3237. *Sardanapalus*, last king of the first Assyrian 767.
empire. After twenty years reign he burns
himself in his palace.

This empire subsisted above 1450 years; from
which arose three others, namely the Assyrian
of Babylon, the Assyrian of Nineveh, and that
of the Medes.

192 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. EGYPT. GREECE. BABYL. Ant.
J. C.

3257.

Belefsis, or 747.
Nabonazar, in
the bible called
Baladan.

3261.

First war be-
tween the Mes-
senians and La-
cedemonians,
holds twenty
years.

743.

3268.

Merodacb 736.

Baladan. He
sent embassa-
dors to Heze-
kiah. Nothing
is known of
the other kings
who reigned in
Babylon.

3280.

Archilocus
the Greek poet.

724.

3285. *Setbon*. Me
reigns four-
teen years.

719.

TABLE.

A. M. NINIVEH.

MEDES.

LYDIA.

193

Ant.

C.

747.

J.C.

3257. *Teglath Pe-lazar.* The 8th year of his reign he aids Ahaz king of Judah; subdues Syria, and part of Palestine.

Arbaces governs the Medes without taking the title of king.

The Heraclidae keep the kingdom of Lydia 505 years. Argon first king began in the year 2781. His successors are little known before Candaules.

3269.

Salmanazar.

The 8th year of his reign he took Samaria, and made the people captive.

3286.

Vol. XII.

Gyges. He 718. puts Candaules to death, and reigns in his stead.

194 CHRONOLOGICAL
EGYPT. MEDIA. BABYL. Ant.
A. M. J. C.

3299. *Tharac* reigns
18 years, fol-
lowed by two
years anarchy.

3319. Twelve prin-
cipal lords of
Egypt seize
the kingdom,
and each go-
vers his part.

3320.

Second war
between the
Lacedemonians
and Messenians,
14 years.

3334. *Psammiticus*,
one of the
twelve kings,
defeats the o-
ther eleven,
and is king of
of all Egypt.
He takes
Azoth in Pale-
stine after a
siege of 29
years.

705.

685.

684.

670.

A. M. NINEVEH.

MEDIA.

LYDIA. Ant.

J. C.

717.

3287. *Sennacherib.*

In the fifth
year of his
reign he makes
war against
Hezekiah
king of Judah.
An angel de-
stroys his ar-
my at the siege
of Jerusalem.
On his return
he is killed by
his own sons.

3294. *Exarbadon.*

3296.

Exarbadon,
unites the em-
pires of Baby-
lon and Nine-
veh.

3324.

Exarbadon
carries the re-
maining peo-
ple of Israel
into Assyria.
The same year
he takes Ma-
nasseh in chains
to Babylon.

MEDIA.

LYDIA. Ant.

LYDIA. Ant.

J. C.

717.

Dejoces makes
himself king of
Media.

710.

708.

681.

Death of Gy-
ges : succeeded
by his son Ardy. 680.
In his reign of
49 years, the
Cimmerians
take Sardis.

677.

196

CHRONOLOGICAL
EGYPT. GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

A. M.

3364.

Tyrtæus, a poet who 640,
celebrated military vir-
tue.

Thales of Miletus,
founder of the Ionic
sest.

TABLE.

A. M. NIN. & Bab.

MEDIA.

LYDIA.

197

Ant.

J. C.

669.

3335. *Saofduchin,*
or *Nebuchad-*
nezar I. The
twelfth year of

3347. his reign he
defeats Phra-
ortes, king of
the Medes,
and takes Ec-
batana : after
which he
makes Holo-
phernes be-
siege Bethulia.

3356. Death of
Nebuchadne-
zar : succed-
ed by Saracus,
named also
Cbynaladahus.

Death of De-
joces : succee-
d by his son
Pbraortes, in
Judith called
Arphaxad.

657.

648.

3369.

Phraortes be-
ing routed by
Nebuchadnezar
is put to death.
His son Cyax-
ares reigns for-
ty years. He
beats the As-
syrians, but raises
the seige of Ni-
neveh to op-
pose the Scyth-
ians.

635.

198

A.M.

CHRONOLOGICAL

Egypt.

Greece.

Ant.
J.C.

3380.

Draco, legislator of Athens.

616.

3388. *Necbo, reigned sixteen years: on the seventh he defeats the king of Affyria, and takes part of his dominions. He is the Pharaoh Necho who attempted to join the Red-sea to the Nile.*

A. M. Nine. & Bab. MEDIA. LYDIA. Ant.

J. C.

3373^a

Sadyattes, in 631.
the sixteenth
year of his
reign besieges
Miletus.

626.

3378. Nabopolazar
revolts from
Saracus, and
seizes Babylon.

Cyaxares joins
with Nabopo-
lazar ; takes
Nineveh, and
puts king Sar-
acus to death.

Destruction
of Nineveh.
Babylon be-
comes the ca-
pital of Assyria.

3385^a

Halyattes, 619.
continues the
siege of Mile-
tus which his
father carried
on six years,
but ends it in
six more by a
treaty of peace.
In his time the
war between
Medes and Ly-
dians termi-
nates in the
marriage of
Cyaxares with
Aryenis, the
daughter of
Halyattes.

200 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. EGYPT. A.D. GREECE. Ant.
J.C.

3400.

Solon. The seven sages of Greece and Sappho lived about this time : also Alceus, from whom the Alcaic verses take name.

3404. Psammis. He reigned six years.

Institution of the 600. Olympic games by the People of Elis.

TABLE.

201

A. M. BABYL.	MEDIA.	LYDIA.
		Ant.
		J. C.
		607.

3397. Nabopolazar associates his son Nebuchadnezar in the empire ; and sends him to reconquer the countries taken by Necho. 606.
3398. Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezar. He sends a great number of Jews to Babylon, and among them the prophet Daniel. From hence begins the captivity. 605.
3399. Death of Nabopolazar. His son *Nebuchadnezar II.* succeeds to all his dominions. 601.
3403. Nebuchadnezar's first dream interpreted by Daniel. 600.
3404. *Abyages*, the son of Cyaxares, marries his daughter to

202 CHRONOLOGICAL
A.M. EGYPT. GREECE.

Ant.
J.C.

3410. Apries, called Pharae
Hophra, conquers all
Phenicia.

594-

3411. Zedekiah king of
Judah, makes alliance
with Apries against
Nebuchadnezar.

593-

T A B L E.

A. M. BABYL.

M E D I A.

203

L Y D I A. Ant.

J. C.

Cambyses, fa-
ther of Cyrus.

3405. Nebuchadnezar's Lieutenants, after having ravaged Judea, blockade Jerusalem, and put king Jehoiakim to death. About the end of the same year, Nebuchadnezar repairs in person to Jerusalem, makes himself master of it, and appoints Zedekiah king instead of Jehoiakim, whom he carries into captivity.

Birth of Cy-
rus.**599.**

3409. Death of Cyaxares : his son Astyages succeeds. He reigns

35 years.

595.

3416. Nebuchadnezar destroys Jerusalem, and carries away Zedekiah captive to Babylon. At his

Cyrus goes the first time into Media, to see his grandfather Astyages, where he stays three years.

588.

3430. Unfortunate expedition of Apries into Lybia.

Amasis revolts against Apries.

3432. Nebuchadnezar subjects Egypt, and confirms Amasis on the throne.

3435. Apries dies in the twentyfifth year of his reign.

Amasis reigns after him in peace 44 years.

3440.

Theopis reforms tragedy.

Pylagoras about this time goes into Egypt.

A. M. BABYL. MEDIA. LYDIA. Ant.
C. J. C.

return into his dominions he causes the three young Hebrews to be thrown into the furnace.

3432. Nebuchadnezar takes Tyre after a siege of thirteen years. He did not go against Egypt till after this expedition.

3434. Nebuchadnezar's second dream interpreted by Daniel.

3435. Nebuchadnezar is seven years reduced to the condition of a beast; but reigns again one year. His son *Evil-Merodach* succeeds and reigns only two years.

3442.

Cræsus. 562.
Aesop lived

206 CHRONOLOGICAL
A.M. EGYPT. GREECE.

Ant.
J. C.

3444.

Simonides, the cele- 560.
brated poet.

3445.

Pisistratus makes 559.
himself master of
Athens.

3450. Amasis invites the Greeks to settle in Egypt; and contributes to rebuild the temple of Delphos.

Hipponax, author of 544.
the verse Scazon.

Heraclitus, chief of
the sect of his name.

T A B L E.

A. M. BABYL.

MEDIA.

LYDIA. Ant.

J. C.

207

3444. *Neriglissar.*

He makes great preparations for war against the Medes, and calls in Crœsus to his aid.

3445.

Death of Astyages. Cyaxares succeeds him, known in the scripture under the name of Darius the Mede.

in his reign, 560, and was in his court at the same time with Solon.

359.

Cyrus returns into Media for the second time, in order to assist his uncle in the war with the Babylonians.

3447.

Expedition of Cyrus against the king of Armenia.

357-

3448.

Labrosoarchos. Cyrus defeat the Babylonians in a great battel, where Neriglissar is slain.

356.

He reigns only nine months.

3449. *Labynit,* called in scripture Belshazzar.

Crœsus flies before Cyrus.

About this time the marriage of Cyrus with the daughter of his uncle Cyaxares may be dated.

355-

208 CHRONOLOGICAL
A.M. EGYPT. GREECE. Ant.
3464. J. C.

Birth of *Aeschylus*. 540.

Ctesiphon or *Cherifi-
phon*, the architect, fa-
mous for building the
temple of Diana at
Ephesus.

3478.

Death of Pisistratus. 526.
Hippias his son succeeds
him.

3479.

Psamenitus, the
son of Amasis, reigns
only six months. He
is put to death by
Cambyses, who joins
Egypt to the Persian
empire, which so con-
tinues till Alexander
the Great, being 206
years.

525.

3490.

Miltiades goes to set- 514.
tle in the Chersonese.

3496.

The Pisistratidæ a- 508.
bandon Attica.

TABLE.

209

A. M. BABYL. MEDIA. LYDIA. Ant.
J. C.

3456.

Battel of 548.

Thymbria bet
tween Cyrus
and Crœsus,
with the loss
of Sardis.

End of the
kingdom of 538.
Lydia,

5466.

Labynit is killed at the taking of Babylon. His death puts an end to the Babylonian empire, which is united with

Death of Cy-

3468. that of Media.

axares.

536.

After the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, Cyrus, who succeeded to both, united the kingdom of Media with those of Babylon and Persia; and of the three formed a fourth, namely the empire of Persia, which subsisted 206 years.

Empire of P E R S I A.

3468. Cyrus. In the first year of his reign he permits the Jews to return into Judea. 536.

3470. Daniel's vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia. 534.

3475. Cyrus dies at his return the seventh time into Persia. He reigned seven years alone, and thirty from his setting out from Persia at the head of an army to aid Cyaxares. 529.]

Cambyses his son succeeds him. In the fourth year of his reign he attacks Egypt, and reunites it to the empire of Persia.

T 3

P E R -

210 CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M. PERSIANS. Ant.

- J. C.
- 3480. Unsuccessful expedition of Cambyses against 524.
Ethiopia.
 - 3481. Cambyses puts to death Meroe, who was 523.
both his sister and wife.
 - 3482. About this time Oretes, servant to Cambyses,
makes himself master of the island of Samos,
and causes Polycrates, the Tyrant thereof to be
put to death.
 - 3482. Death of Cambyses. Smerdis the Magian, 522.
who usurped the throne before Cambyses died,
succedes him. He reigns only seven months.
 - 3483. Darius son of Hystaspes. 521.
 - 3485. Edict of Darius in favour of the Jews, where- 519.
in that of Cyrus is repealed. Tis believed, that
what occurs in the book of Esther, happened
some time after this edict.
 - 3488. Babylon revolts against Darius, but is besieged 516.
and retaken.
 - 3490. Expedition of Darius against the Scythians. 514.
 - 3496. Darius penetrates into India, and subdues all 508.
that large country.

The Grecian history from henceforth is
quite intermixt with that of the Persian,
for which reason I shall separate their
chronology no farther.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

- 3501. The Persians besiege the capital of Naxos, and 503.
are obliged to raise it in six months.
- 3502. Aristagoras, governor of Miletus revolts from 502.
Darius, and brings the Ionians and Athenians in-
to his party.
- 3504. The Ionians subdue Sardis, and burn it. 500.
- 3504. The Persians defeat the Ionians at sea, subdue 497.
Miletus, and burn it.

Æschylus

TABLE.

211

A.M.	PERSIANS and GREEKS.	Ant.
		J.C.
	<i>Aeschylus.</i>	
3510.	Darius sends Gobryas at the head of an army 494. to attack Greece.	
	<i>Anacreon.</i>	
3513.	Darius takes the command from Gobryas, and 491. gives it to Datis and Artaphernes.	
3514.	Battel of Marathon. 490.	
3515.	Unfortunate end of Miltiades. 489.	
3519.	Death of Darius Hydaspes, succeeded by his 485. son Xerxes.	
3520.	Birth of the historian <i>Herodotus.</i> 484.	
3524.	Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks. 480.	
	Battel of Thermopylæ : Leonidas king of Sparta is killed in it ; Seafight near Artemisium at the same time.	
	Birth of <i>Euripides.</i>	
	Battel of Salamis, followed by the precipitate return of Xerxes into Persia.	
3525.	Battel of Platæa. Seafight the same day near 479. Mycale, in which the Persians are beat.	
3526.	The Athenians rebuild the walls of their city, 478. which had been demolished by Xerxes.	
3528.	The command of the Grecian armies is trans- 476. ferred from the Lacedemonians to the Athenians. <i>Pindar</i> florished about this time.	
3530.	<i>Pausanias</i> , Lacedemonian general, accused of 474. holding secret intelligence with Xerxes, is put to death.	
3531.	<i>Tebemistocles</i> , Athenian general, accused of the 473. the same plot, takes refuge with Admetus king of Molossia.	
	<i>Sophocles</i> and <i>Euripides</i> appear in Greece about this time.	
3532.	Xerxes is killed by Artabanus captain of his 472. guard.	

Artaxerxes

A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS.

Ant.
J. C.

Artaxerxes Longimanus, succeeds him. Themistocles takes refuge in his court the first year of his reign.

3533. *Cimon* receives the command of the army at 471. Athens: the year following he defeats the Persians, and takes their fleet near the river Eurymedon.

Birth of the historian *Tphydides*.

3534. Earthquake at Sparta in the reign of Archidamus, which makes way for a sedition of the Helots. 470.

Birth of *Socrates*.

3535. Beginning of Pericles. 469. *Pheidias*, famous for architecture and sculpture. Misunderstanding between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, occasioned by the affront given to the Athenians in sending back their troops, after having called in their aid against the Messenians and Helots. Some time after, in consequence of this quarrel, Cimon is banished by the Ostracism.

3537. *Ezdras* obtains leave from Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem with all that are willing to follow him. 467.

3538. *Themistocles* kills himself at Magnesia. 466.

3540. *Herodicus* of Sicily, chief of the sect of physicians, called *Διατύπινοι*. Hippocrates was his disciple. 464.

3544. The Egyptians supported by the Athenians revolt from Artaxerxes. 460.

3545. Defeat of the Persians in Egypt. 459.

3548. The Egyptians and Athenians are beat in their turn: in consequence of which all Egypt returns to Artaxerxes, and the Athenians retire to Diarus, where they sustain a siege of one year. 458.

Battel

A. M.	PERSIANS and GREEKS.	Ant. J. C.
	Battel of Tanagra in Beotia, where the Athenians beat the Spartans, who came to aid the Beotians.	
3550.	Nebemiah returns to Jerusalem.	454.
3554.	Birth of Xenophon.	450.
	Cimon, recalled after five years banishment, reconciles the Athenians and Spartans, who conclude a truce of five years.	
3555.	End of the war between the Greeks and Persians, which had continued fiftyone years from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians.	449.
	Death of Cimon.	
3558.	The Lacedemonians conclude a thirty years truce with the Athenians: the latter soon break it by new enterprizes.	446.
	Empedocles, the Pythagorean philosopher flourished about this time.	
	Myron, the famous sculptor of Athens.	
3564.	Pericles makes war with Samos, and takes the capital after a siege of nine months.	440.
	Zeuxis, the famous painter, disciple of Apollodorus: his rival Parrhasius lived at the same time.	
	Aristophanes, comic poet.	
3568.	Birth of Isocrates.	436.
	War between Corinth and Corcyra. The Athenians aid the Corcyrians. The inhabitants of Potidea declare for Corinth against Athens. Alcibiades begins to appear in this war, which occasions that of Peloponesus.	
	Scopas, architect and sculptor.	
3573.	Beginning of the Peloponeseian war: it subsists twentyseven years.	431.
3574.	Plague rages in Attica. Hippocrates distinguishes himself by his great care of the sick.	430.
	Death	

A. M.	PERSIANS and GREEKS.	Ant.
		J. C.
3575.	Death of Pericles.	429.
3576.	The Lacedemonians besiege Plataea. <i>Plato</i> , founder of the antient academy.	428.
3579.	Death of Artaxerxes : his son <i>Xerxes</i> reigns 425, only fortyfive days. <i>Sogdianus</i> puts Xerxes to death, and is king in his stead. His reign is only six months.	425.
3580.	<i>Oebus</i> , aliter <i>Darius Notbus</i> , rids himself of <i>Sogdianus</i> , and succeeds him. The Athenians, under Nicias, make themselves masters of Cythera.	424.
	Thucydides is banished by the Athenians, whose army he commanded, for suffering Amphipolis to be taken.	
	<i>Polygnotus</i> famed particularly for his painting in the portico called Ποικίλη at Athens, representing the principal events of the Trojan war.	
3583.	Treaty of peace concluded by the application of Nicias, between Athens and Sparta, in the tenth year from the beginning of the Lacedemonian war. Alcibiades by an imposture occasions its being broke the next year.	421.
3584.	The banishment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Ostracism.	420.
3588.	Alcibiades persuades the Athenians to help Segesta against the Syracusans.	416.
3589.	Alcibiades, one of the generals sent to Sicily by the Athenians is recalled to answer accusations against him. He flies to Sparta, and is condemned for contumacy.	415.
3590.	Pisuthnes governor of Syria revolts from Darius. The Egyptians do the same, and chuse Amyrteus their king, who reigns six years.	414.
3593.	Alcibiades, to avoid the envy caused by his great actions at Sparta, goes over to Tissaphernes, the	411.

A. M.: PERSIANS and GREEKS. Ant.
J. C. J. C.

the Persian governor. The Lacedemonians, by the help of Tissaphernes, conclude a treaty of alliance with the king of Persia.

3595. Alcibiades is recalled to Athens. His return 409. causes the abolition of the four hundred, who had been invested with supreme authority.
3597. Darius gives his younger son Cyrus the go- 407. vernment in chief of all Asia Minor.
3598. Lysander is placed at the head of the Lacede- 406. monians. He defeats the Athenians near Ephesus. In consequence of that defeat Alcibiades is deposed, and ten generals are nominated to succeed him.
3599. Callicratidas commands the army in the room 405. of Lysander, whom the Lacedemonians had removed: he is killed in a seafight near the Arginusæ.
- Lysander is restored, and gains a famous victory over the Athenians at Ægospotamos. Conon, who commanded the Athenian fleet, retires to Evagoras king of Cyprus.
3600. Lysander makes himself master of Athens, 404. changes the government, and appoints thirty Archons, generally called Tyrants.
- End of the Peloponeseian war.
- Death of Darius Nothus: his son Arsaces suc- cedes him, and takes the name of Artaxerxes Mnemon.
- Cyrus the younger intends to assassinate his brother Artaxerxes: his design being discovered, he is sent to his provincial government.
3601. Interview of him and Lysander at Sardis. 403.
- Thrasybulus expels the tyrants from Athens, and restores its liberty.
3602. Cyrus the younger prepares for a war with his 402. brother Artaxerxes.

Defeat

A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS. Ant.

J. C.

3603. Defeat and death of Cyrus at Cunaxa, followed by the retreat of the Ten thousand. 401.
Death of Socrates.
3604. Lacedemon declares war against Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. 400.
3606. Beginning of Amyntas king of Macedonia, father of Philip. 398.
3607. Agesilaus is elected king of Sparta. The next year he sets out for Asia, to aid the Greeks who had settled there. 397.
3609. Lysander quarrels with Agesilaus, and undertakes to change the order of succession to the throne. 395.
- Tissaphernes is beat near Sardis by Agesilaus.
3610. Thebes, Argos and Corinth, make a league against Lacedemon, at the solicitation of the Persians. Athens joins the league soon after. Agesilaus is recalled by the Ephori to the assistance of his country. 394.
- The Lacedemonian fleet is defeated near Cnidus by Pharnabazus and Conon the Athenian, who commanded that of the Persians and Greeks. Agesilaus routs the Thebans about the same time in the plains of Coronæa.
- Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
3617. Peace dishonorable to the Greeks, concluded with the Persians by Antalcides the Spartan. 387.
3618. Artaxerxes attacks Evagoras, king of Cyprus, and gains a signal victory. It is followed by the siege of Salamis, and terminated by a treaty of peace. 386.
3620. Expedition of Artaxerxes against the Cadusians. Birth of Aristotle. 384.
3621. Sparta declares war against the city of Olynthus. Birth of Philip king of Macedonia. Birth of Phedidas. 383.

A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J. C.

3622. *Pheebidas*, Lacedemonian, on his way to the 382.
siege of Olynthus, seizes the citadel of Thebes.
Birth of *Demosthenes*.
3626. Pelopidas, at the head of the exiles, kills the 378.
tyrants of Thebes, and retakes the citadel.
3627. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes to reduce 377.
Egypt, which had revolted. He is two years in
preparing for that war.
3629. Death of Amyntas king of Macedonia : his 375.
eldest son *Alexander* succeeds, who reigns only
two years. *Perdicas* succeeds next, and reigns
fourteen years.
3630. Death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, succeeded 374.
by his son *Nicocles*.
3634. Battel of Leuctra, where the Thebans, under 370.
Epaminondas and Pelopidas, defeat the Lacede-
monians.
3635. Expedition of Pelopidas against Alexander ty- 369.
rant of Pheræ. He terminates the difference be-
tween Perdiccas and Ptolemy concerning the
crown of Macedonia. He is killed in a battel
with the tyrant of Pheræ.
3641. Battle of Mantinea, where Epaminondas is 363.
slain after securing victory to the Thebans.
3642. Agesilaus goes to aid Tachos king of Egypt 362.
against Artaxerxes, but betrays him, and secures
the crown to Nectanebis. He dies at his return.
Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, succeeded by his
son *Oebus*.
3644. Philip ascends the throne of Macedon, and 360.
makes peace with the Athenians.
- History of the Cappadocians begins here,
but the chronology is joined hereafter
with that of Pontus and Parthia.

218 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. PERSIANS and GREEKS.

Anti.
J. C.

3646. War of the allies with Athens. It continues 358; three years.
 Philip takes Amphipolis.
3648. Revolt of Artabazus against Ochus king of 356. Persia.
 Birth of *Alexander the Great*.
3649. Demosthenes appears the first time in public, 355; and animates the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of war making by the king of Persia.
 Beginning of the sacred war.
3650. Death of *Mausolus king of Caria*. 354.
3651. Philip takes and destroys Methone, where he 353. loses an eye.
3652. Artemisia, queen to, and widow of Mausolus, 352. takes Rhodes.
 Philip attempts to seize Thermopylæ.
3653. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. 351.
3654. Nectanebus, the last Egyptian king of Egypt, 350. retires to Ethiopia, where he dies.
3655. Death of Plato. 348.
 Philip takes Olynthus.
3658. Philip seizes Thermopylæ, and part of Photis. 346. He is admitted into the number of Amphyctyons.
3661. Oration of Demosthenes concerning the Chersonese in favour of Diopithus. 343.
3665. The Athenians send aid under Phocion to the 339. cities of Perinthus and Byzantium besieged by Philip, who is obliged to retreat.
3666. Philip is declared generalissimo of the Greeks 338. in the council of Amphyctyons. He surprises Elatea.
 Battle of Cheronea; Philip defeats the Athenians and Thebans, who had joined against him.

Gothicus

TABLE.

219

A. M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J. C.

Ochus king of Persia is poisoned by Bagoas, and succeeded by his son Arses, who reigns three years.

3667. Philip is declared general of the Greeks 337. against the Persians. The same year he repudiates his wife Olympias. His son Alexander attends her into Epirus, from whence he goes to Illyria.
3668. Philip's death. *Alexander*, then twenty years 336. of age, succeeds him.
- Arses king of Persia is assassinated by Bagoas, and succeeded by *Darius Codomanus*.
3669. Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander. 335. He causes himself to be declared generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians, in a dyet assembled at Corinth.
3670. Alexander sets out for Persia. 334. Battel of the Granicus, and conquest of Asia Minor.
3671. Alexander is taken at Tarsus with a dangerous illness, by bathing in the river Cydnus, Battel of Issus.
3672. Alexander takes Tyre, after a siege of seven months. *Apelles* one of the most famed painters of antiquity. *Aristides* and *Protogenes* were his contemporaries.
- Alexander goes to Jerusalem. He subjects Gaza, and soon after all Egypt. He goes to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and at his return builds Alexandria.
3673. Battel of Arbela; followed with the taking 331. of Arbela, Babylon, Susa and Persepolis.
3674. Darius is bound in chains by Bessus, and soon 330. after assassinated. His death puts an end to the Persian

Persian empire, which had stood two hundred and six years from its foundation under Cyrus the Great.

The Lacedemonians revolt against Macedonia. Antipater defeats them in a battel wherein Agis their king is slain.

Tbaſſiris, queen of the Amazons, visits Alexander at Zadracarta.

Philotas and his father Parmenio, suspected of conspiring against Alexander, are put to death.

3675. Bessus is brought to Alexander, and soon after 329, put to death.

Alexander, after having subdued the Sogdians and Bactrians, builds a city on the Iaxartes, named Alexandria.

Embassy of the Scythians to Alexander, followed by a victory over that people.

Lyſippus of Sicyon, famed sculptor.

3676. Oxus and Coriensis, rocks besieged and taken 328, by Alexander.

Clitus is killed by Alexander at a feast, as is Callisthenes soon after.

Alexander marries Roxana daughter of Oxartes.

3677. Alexander enters India. He gains a great 327, victory over Porus at the Hydaspes.

3678. On the remonstrance of his army, Alexander 326, determines to march back.

Alexander is in great danger at the siege of Oxydracæ.

3679. Alexander marries Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius. 325,

Revolt of Harpalus, governor of Babylon for Alexander.

Demosthenes is banished for receiving presents, and being corrupted by Harpalus.

Death

TABLE.

221

A.M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J.C.

3680. Death of Hephestion at Ecbatana. 324.
Menander, inventor of the New comedy, lived about this time.
3681. Alexander at his return to Babylon dies there, 323, aged thirtytwo years and eight months, *Aridaeus*, that prince's natural brother, is declared king in his stead. The regency of the kingdom is given to Perdiccas,
 The generals divide the provinces among themselves : from this division begins the *Aera* of the Lagides in Egypt.
 The Athenians revolt, and ingage the states of Greece to join them. Demosthenes is recalled from banishment.
3682. Antipater is besieged in Lamia by the Athenians, and forced to surrender. He soon after seizes Athens, and puts a garrison there. 322.
 Death of Demosthenes.
3683. Alexander's magnificent funeral. 321.
 Perdiccas puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia.
 League of Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater and Antigonus, against Perdiccas and Eumenes.
 Death of Craterus.
 Unfortunate end of Perdiccas in Egypt : he is succeeded by Antipater in the regency of the empire.
3684. Eumenes, routed by Antigonus, retires to the castle of Nora, which he defends a wholeyear. 320.
 Ptolemy takes Jerusalem.
3685. Death of Antipater. Polypercon succeeds him. 319.
 Phocion's condemnation and death at Athens.
 Cassander, son of Antipater, seizes Athens and settles Demetrius Phalerus in the government.

U 3

Olympias,

CHRONOLOGICAL

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

Ant.
J. C.

3687. Olympias, mother of Alexander, causes 317.
Arideus, and Euridice his wife, to be put to
death, as she is soon after by Cassander.
3689. Eumenes is delivered up to Antigonus by his 315.
own soldiers, and put to death.
3691. Antigonus takes Tyre after a siege of fifteen 313.
months. His son Demetrius Poliorcetes begins
to appear.
3692. Zeno founder of the Stoics at Athens. 312.
3693. Seleucus subjects Babylon, and the neighbour- 311.
ing provinces.
- At this expedition begins the famous *Aera* of
the Seleucides, called by the Jews the *Aera* of
contracts.
- Ptolemy repairs to Egypt, followed by many
inhabitants of Phenicia and Judea.
- Cassander causes Roxana and her son Alexan-
der to be put to death.
3695. Polyspercon puts Hercules, the son of Alex- 309.
ander, and his mother Berenice to death.
3696. Ophellas, governor of Lybia, revolts from 308.
Ptolemy.
3698. Demetrius Poliorcetes recovers Athens, and re- 306.
stores the democratical government. The same
year he subdues the whole island of Cyprus, with
the city of Salamis.
- Demetrius Phaleretus, who commanded at
Athens, retires to Thebes. The Athenians
throw down his statues, and condemn him to
death.
3698. Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, assume the 306.
title of kings. The other princes do the same.
3699. Antigonus, to make the most of his son's 305.
victory in Cyprus, undertakes to dethrone Pto-
lemy in Egypt, but miscarries.

Ptolemy

T A B L E.

223

A.M.

Ant.

PERSIANS and GREEKS.

J.C.

- Ptolemy the astronomer fixes the beginning of
the reign of Ptolemy king of Egypt on the
7th of November this year.
3700. Demetrius Poliorcetes besieges Rhodes, but 304.
abandons it the next year.
3701. The Rhodians employ the money which De- 303.
metrius had given them as a present, in erecting
their famous Colossus.
- Demetrius Poliorcetes is declared general of all
the Greeks by the states assembled at Corinth.
3702. Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysima- 302.
chus enter into a league against Antigonus and
his son Demetrius.
- Battel of Ipsus, where Antigonus is defeated.
It is followed by the division of Alexander's em-
pire among the four allied princes.
- Arcesilaus* founder of the Middle academy.

The

A.M. The four kingdoms formed out of Alexander's empire by his principal successors are so mixt in their events, that I have chose to place them all in one column, after this list of their kings.

EGYPT.	SYRIA,	MACE-	THRACE
		DONIA.	and Bithynia.

3704.	Ptolemy	Seleucus	Cassander.	Lysimachus.	300.
	Soter.	Nicator.			
3707.			Philip and Alexander the sons of Cassander reign three years.		297.
3710.			Demetrius Poliorcetes.		294.
3717.			Pyrrhus and Lysimachus.		287.
3719.	Ptolemy Philadelphus.				285.
3723.			Seleucus Nicator, a very short time.	Lysimachus dies in battle; after which his dominions no longer form a separate kingdom.	281.

T A B L E.

A. M. EGYPT.

S Y R I A.

M A C E D O -
N I A.

225

Ant.
J. C.

3724.	<i>Antiochus Soter.</i>	Ptolemy Ce- raunus.	280.
		His brother Mele- ger reigned a short time.	
3726.		Sofbenes.	278.
3728.		Antigonus Gonatas.	276.
3743.	<i>Antiochus Theos.</i>		261.
3758.	Ptolemy Evergetes.	Seleucus Cal- linicus.	246.
3762.		Demetrius son of Antigo- nus Gonatas.	242.
3772.		Antigonus Dofon.	232.
3778.		Seleucus Ce- raunus.	226.
3781.		Antiochus the Great.	223.
3783.	Ptolemy Phi- lopator.		221.
3784.		Philip.	220.
3800.	Ptolemy Epi- phanes.		204.
3817.		Seleucus Phi- lopator.	187.

226 CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M. EGYPT.	SYRIA.	MACEDO- NIA.	Ant, J. C.
3824. Ptolemy Phi- loceptor.			180.
3825.		Perseus, last king of Macedonia.	179.
3829.	Antiochus Epiphanes.		175.
3840.	Antiochus Eupator.		164.
3842.	Demetrius Soter.		162.
3854.	Alexander Balus.		150.
3859. Ptolemy Physcon.	Demetrius Nicator.		145.
3860.	Antiochus Theos the son of Balus is made king. Tryphon murders him and usurps the crown.		144.
3864.	Antiochus Si- detes puts Try- phon to death, and reigns in his room.		140.
3877.	Zebina suc- ceedes Demetrius Nicator.		127.
3880.	Seleucus, the son of Nicator,		124.
3887. Ptolemy La- thyrus.	Antiochus Grypus.		117.
3890.	Cyzicus divides the kingdom with Grypus.		114.

TABLE.

A.M. EGYPT.

SYRIA.

227

Ant.

J. C.

107.

3897. *Alexander I.* brother to Lathyrus.

3907.

Seleucus son of Grypus. 97.

3911.

Antiochus Eusebes. 93.

3912.

Antiochus, second son of Grypus.

3913.

Philip, third son of Grypus.

3914.

Demetrius Euclares, 90.
fourth son of Grypus.

3919.

Antiochus Dionysius, 85.
fifth son of Grypus,
which four last reigned
successively during the
life of Eusebes.

3921.

Tigranes, 14 years. 83.3923. *Alexander II.* son
of Alexander I.

81.

3935.

Antiochus Asiaticus. 69.3939. *Ptolemy Auletes.*

67.

3946. *Berenice,* daughter
of Auletes, reigns
some time in his stead,
after which he is re-
stored.

58.

3953. *Cleopatra* reigns at
first with her elder
brother Ptolemy; then
with Ptolemy
her younger brother,
whom she poisons to
reign alone.

56.

228 CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M.

Ant.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER.

J. C.

3704. Seleucus king of Syria builds Antioch. 300.
 Poliorcetes denied entrance at Athens.
3707. Death of Cassander king of Macedon. His son 297.
 Philip reigns one year, and is succeeded by his brother Alexander. About this time Pyrrhus king of Epirus espouses Antigone of the house of Ptolemy, and returns to his dominions, out of which he had been driven by the Molossi.
3709. Demetrius Poliorcetes retakes Athens. Lysimachus and Ptolemy about the same time deprive him of all he possessed. 295.
3710. Demetrius puts to death Alexander king of Macedonia, whom he went to assist, and seizes his dominions, where he reigns seven years. 294.
3711. Seleucia city built by Seleucus. 293.
3717. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus take Macedonia from Demetrius, who dies miserably the next year in prison. 287.
3719. Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, resigns the throne to his son Philadelphus. 285⁴.
 Kingdom of Pergamus founded by Philetæres.
3721. Demetrius Phalereus confined in a fort by order of Philadelphus, kills himself there. 283.
3722. Seleucus Nicator, king of Syria, declares war against Lysimachus king of Macedonia. 282.
3723. Lysimachus is killed in battle. Seleucus enters Macedonia to take possession, and is assassinated by Ceraunus. His son Antiochus Soter succeeds him in Syria. 281.
3724. Ceraunus, to secure the kingdom of Macedonia to himself, puts the two children of Seleucus by Arsinoe to death, and banishes her into Samothrace. 280.
 The Achean republic resumes its ancient form, which it had lost under Philip and Alexander.
- Pyrrhus.

A. M.

Ant.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J. C.

- Pyrrhus, called in by the Tarentines, goes to Italy, where he twice defeats the Romans.
3725. Irruption of the Gauls into Macedonia. Ptolemy Ceraunus gives them battel and is killed. His brother Melcager succeeds him.
3726. Pyrrhus leaves Italy, and goes to Sicily, 278. which he conquers.
Softbenes drives the Gauls out of Macedonia.
He is made king there, and reigns two years.
The Gauls plunder the temple of Delphos.
3727. Ptolemy Philadelphus, causes the holy scripture to be translated into Greek.
3728. Death of Softenes. In his room Antigonus 276. Gonatas son of Peliorcetes, who reigned afterward ten years in Greece, makes himself king of Macedonia. Antiochus king of Syria disputes the possession with him; their difference terminates by the marriage of Antigonus with Phila, daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus.
3729. Antiochus defeats the Gauls in a bloody battle, and delivers the country from their oppression; for which he acquires the name of Soter.
3730. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, and is defeated 274. by the Romans. He goes to Macedonia, and defeats Antigonus.
Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an embassy to Rome to demand its amity.
3732. Pyrrhus besieges but cannot take Sparta. He 272. is killed next year at the siege of Argos.
3736. Antigonus Gonatas subdues Athens, which 268. had made a league with Sparta against him.
3739. Abantidas makes himself tyrant of Sicyon, 265. after having put to death Clinias the governor.
Magas, governor of Cyrenia and Lybia, rebels against Ptolemy Philadelphus.

A. M.

ANT.
SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J. C.

3741. Death of Phileteres king of Pergamus, succeeded by his nephew *Eumenes*. 263.
3743. Antiochus Soter king of Syria causes his son *Antiochus* to be proclaimed king. He dies soon after. *Berothus* of Babylon, the historian, lived about this time.
3746. Accommodation between Magas and Ptolemy Philadelphus. 258.
3749. War between Antiochus king of Syria, and Philadelphus. 255.
3752. *Aratus* the son of Clinias delivers Sicyon from tyranny, and unites it with the Achean league. 252.
3754. *Arsaces* rebels against Agathocles governor for Antiochus in Parthia. About the same time *Theodorus* governor of Bactria revolts, and makes himself king of that province. 250.
3755. Treaty of peace between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philadelphus, pursuant to which Antiochus repudiates Laodice, and marries Ptolemy's daughter Berenice. 249.
3756. *Agis* king of Sparta labours to revive the ancient laws of Lycurgus : his colleague Leonidas is deposed for refusing to consent to it, and his son in law *Cleombrotus* reigns in his stead. 248.
3757. Death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Evergetes*. 247.
- Apollonius* of Rhodes, author of a poem upon the Argonauts expedition.
3758. Antiochus, called Theos, king of Syria, is poisoned by his wife Laodice, who causes her son *Seleucus Callinicus* to be declared king. 246.
- Berenice, and her son, by Antiochus, are murdered by Laodice.

Ptolemy

TABLE.

252

A. M.

Ant.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J.C.

- Ptolemy Evergetes, Berenice's brother, revenges her murder by the death of Laodice. He seizes great part of Syria.
3760. The cities of Smyrna and Magnesia aid the 244. king of Syria against Evergetes.
Aratus takes the citadel of Corinth.
Leonidas is restored at Sparta, Cleombrotus sent into banishment, and Agis put to death.
3762. Death of Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, succeeded by his son Demetrius. Seleucus Calinicus goes to war with his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, and is routed at Ancyra in Galatia.
3763. Death of Eumenes Ist. king of Pergamus, 241. succeeded by his cousin *Attalus*.
3765. *Eratosthenes* is made librarian to Ptolemy 239. Evergetes.
3771. *Joseph*, nephew of *Onias*, is sent envoy to 233. Evergetes.
3772. Death of Demetrius king of Macedonia. 232. *Antigonous*, guardian to Philip son of Demetrius, succeeds him.
Polycletus of Sicyon, famed sculptor.
3774. Seleucus Calinicus, king of Syria, defeated 230: and taken prisoner by Arsaces king of Parthia.
3776. *Cleomenes II.* king of Sparta, defeats the 228. Achaeans at Dyme.
3778. Seleucus dies in Parthia of a fall from his 226. horse. His son *Seleucus Ceraunus* succeeds him.
Antiochus Hierax is killed by thieves on leaving Egypt.
Aratus defeats Arisippus tyrant of Argos. He persuades Lysiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, to renounce the tyranny, and makes his city join the Achean league.

3779. The Romans send a famous embassy into 225.
Greece, notifying their treaty with the Illyri-
ans. The Romans are admitted to celebrate
the Isthmian games, and are made free of Athens.
Antigonus Doson king of Macedonia, aids the
Acheans against the Lacedemonians.
3781. Cleomenes takes Megalopolis, but is defeated 223.
at Selasia by Antigonus, who takes Sparta.
Death of Seleucus Ceraunus king of Syria.
His brother *Antiochus the Great* succeeds.
3782. Colossus of Rhodes thrown down by an earth- 222.
quake.
3783. Death of Ptolemy Evergetes king of Egypt. 221.
Philopator succeeds him.
The Acheans are beat by the Etolians at
Caphia.
3784. Antiochus reduces Molon and Alexander, who 220.
had revolted, the first in Media, the other in
Persia.
Death of Antigonus Doson. *Philip* the son
of Demetrius succeeds him.
Cleomenes king of Sparta dies in Egypt. Age-
sipolis and Lycurgus succeede him.
War of the allies with the Etolians, in favor
of the Acheans.
3785. *Hermias*, prime minister of Antiochus, is put 219.
to death by his order.
3787. Battel of Raphia in Palestiin. 217.
Treaty of peace between Philip and the Ache-
ans on one side, and the Etolians on the other,
which terminates the war of the allies.
3788. Achaeus, who had revolted is betrayed to An- 216.
tiochus the Great, and put to death.
Philip's treaty with Hannibal.

Philip

A. M.

Ant.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J. C.

3789. Philip is surprised by the Romans at Apollonia. 215.
3790. *Carneades* founder of the New academy. 214.
3792. Antiochus in seven years redutes the provinces of Syria which had revolted. 212.
3793. Alliance of the Etolians with Rome. At talus king of Pergamus joins it. The Lacedemonians accede soon after. 211.
3796. Battel between Philip and the Etolians at Elis. 208.
3798. Battel of Mantinea, where Philopæmen defeats and kills *Machanidas* tyrant of Sparta. 206.
3800. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans. All the allies are included. 204.
Polybius the historian born.
- Death of Ptolemy Philopator, succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, five years old.
3801. League between Philip and Antiochus against the young king of Egypt. 203.
3802. Philip is defeated at sea by the Rhodians near Chios : his cruelty to the Cianians seems to be the next year. 202.
3803. Philip besieges and takes Abydos. 201.
3804. The Romans declare war with Philip. Their general Sulpitius gains a considerable victory near Octolophus in Macedonia. 200.
3805. Villicus succeeds Sulpitius in the command of the army against Philip ; and next year Flaminius succeeds Villicus. 199.
3806. Antiochus subjects Palestin and Cœlesyria. The Achæans join the Romans against Philip. 198.
3807. Interview of Philip and the consul Flaminius. *Nabis* tyrant of Sparta declares for the Romans : the Beotians do the same. 197.

Death of Attalus I, king of Pergamus, succeeded by his eldest son Eumenes.

Battel of Cynocephale, where the Romans defeat Philip.

3808. Treaty of peace between Philip and the Romans, which puts an end to the war. 196.

Embassy from Rome to Antiochus the Great, to know whether the complaints against him were just.

Scopas is put to death for conspiring against Ptolemy Epiphanes.

3809. Flaminius makes war against Nabis tyrant of Sparta. 195.

3813. Philopæmen beats Nabis near Sparta. 191. The Etolians attempt to surprise Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta.

Nabis is killed. Philopæmen makes the Spartans join the Achean league.

Antiochus goes to Greece to aid the Etolians: the Romans declare against him, and soon after defeat him near Thermopylæ.

3814. Battel of Magnesia, followed by a treaty of peace between Antiochus and the Romans. 190.

Panetius, philosopher, born about this time.

3815. The consul Fulvius subdues the Etolians. 189. His colleague Manlius near the same time subdues the Gauls in Asia.

The Spartans cruelly treated by their exiles.

3817. Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, is killed for plundering the temple of Jupiter Belus. 187.

Seleucus Philopator succeeds him.

3821. Philopæmen is put to death by Dinocrates. 183.

3823. Demetrius, younger son of king Philip is put to death on the false accusation of his brother Perseus.

Death

A. M.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER. J. C.

3824. Death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, succeeded by 180.
his son *Ptolemy Philometor*, six years old.
3825. Death of Philip king of Macedonia, succeeded by his son *Perseus*. 179.
3829. Seleucus Philopator king of Syria is poisoned 175.
by Heliодор, whom he had sent to take Jerusalem. He is succeeded by *Antiochus Epiphanes*.
3830. Antiochus Epiphanes deposes Onias highpriest 174.
of Jerusalem, and puts Jason in his place.
3833. War between Antiochus and Philometor. 171.
The Romans declare war against Perseus. He gains the first battel in Thessaly.
3834. Antiochus Epiphanes subdues all Egypt. He 170.
commits horrid cruelties at Jerusalem.
3835. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometer who had fallen into the hands of Antiochus, make his brother *Ptolemy Evergetes* king. 169.
Philometor set at liberty, unites with his brother, which makes Antiochus renew the war.
3836. Paulus Æmilius is charged with the Macedonian war against Perseus, whom he routs near Pydna, which puts an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. Tis made a Roman province twenty years after. 168.
The prætor Anicius subdues Illyria in thirty days.
- Popilius, Roman embassador in Egypt, obliges Antiochus to agree with the two Ptolemies and quit Egypt. Antiochus, enraged at this, vents his anger upon the Jews, and commands all people under his dominion to renounce their religion, and conform to his. 167.
3837. Antiochus goes to Jerusalem, to see his orders put in execution. The martyrdom of the Maccabees, and death of Eleazar, happened at that time. 167.
Paulus

Paulus *Aemilius* suffers the cities of Epirus to be plundered for having sided with Perseus. The Achaeans, suspected of the same, are sent to Rome. The senate banish them into different towns of Italy, from whence they return not home till seventeen years after: Polybius was of this number.

3838. *Prusias* king of Bithynia goes to Rome. Eu- 166. menes king of Pergamus is not permitted to enter it.

Death of Matathias. His son *Judas* succeeds him, and often defeats the generals of Antiochus.

3840. Antiochus Epiphanes is repulsed before Ely- 164. mais, where he intended to plunder the temple. He marches towards Judea with design to exterminate the Jews; but he dies on the way in the greatest agonies. His son *Antiochus Eupator* succeeds him.

3841. Antiochus Eupator marches against Jerusa- 163. lem; but returns into Syria to expel Philip of Antioch, who had seized that capital.

3842. Disputes between Philometor king of Egypt 162. and Physcon his brother, which subsist five years. Octavius, Roman ambassador in Syria is murdered.

Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, being a hostage at Rome, escapes from thence to Syria, where he puts Antiochus Eupator to death, and mounts the throne.

3843. Judas Maccabeus dies in battel. 161.

3844. Demetrius is acknowledged king of Syria by 160. the Romans.

3845. Death of Eumenes II. king of Pergamus: 159. his brother *Attalus Philadelphus* succeeds him.

3848. War between Attalus and Prusias. 156.

Alexander

TABLE.

237

A. M.

Ant.
J. C.

SUCCESSORS to ALEXANDER.

3851. *Alexander Balus* pretends himself the son of 153. Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to be king of Syria.
3852. *Andriscus* pretends himself the son of Per- 152. feus, to be king of Macedonia. He is con- quered, and sent to Rome by Metellus.
3854. Demetrius Soter is killed in a battel between 150. him and Alexander Balus; whereby the latter re- mains king of Syria.
3856. Macedonia is made a Roman province. 148.
3857. Troubles in Achaea promoted by Dizeus and 147. Critolaus. The commissioners sent thither from Rome are insulted.
3858. Metellus gains several advantages over the 146. Achaeans. Mummius succeeds him, and after a battel by Leucopetra, takes Corinth and de- stroys it.
- Greece is made a Roman province by the name of Achaea.
3866. Death of Attalus II. king of Pergamus, suc- 138. ceded by his nephew *Attalus III. called Philometor.* He reigns five years.
3871. Attalus Philometor king of Pergamus dies 131. and leaves his dominions to the Roman people : *Aristonicus* seizes them.
3874. The consul Perpenna defeats Aristonicus, 130. who is sent to Rome and put to death. Next year the kingdom of Pergamus is made a Roman province by Manius Aquilius.

The

The remaining chronology of Syria J. C.
being confused is put by itself.

SYRIA.

3859. *Demetrius Nicator*, son of Demetrius Soter, 145: defeats Alexander Balus and ascends the throne.
3860. *Antiochus*, called *Theos*, son of Balus, supported by Tryphon, is made king. Tryphon circumvents Jonathan, and puts him to death at Ptolemais. The next year he murders his pupil Antiochus and usurps the kingdom of Syria.
3863. Demetrius marches against the Parthians. 141. After some little success he is taken prisoner.
3864. *Antiochus Sidetes*, the second son of Demetrius 140. Soter, marries Cleopatra the wife of his brother Demetrius Nicator; and after putting Tryphon to death is declared king himself.
3869. Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in 135. Jerusalem, which surrenders by capitulation.
3873. Sidetes goes against the Parthians, while Demetrius is sent back by Phraates; but Sidetes after great success is killed in battel.
3874. Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria. 130.
3877. Demetrius is killed by *Alexander Zebina*, who 127. gets himself acknowledged king of Syria.
3880. *Seleucus V.* eldest son of Demetrius Nicator is 124. declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra. *Antiochus Grypus* succeeds him.
3881. Zebina is defeated by Grypus, and dies soon 122. after.
3884. Cleopatra attempts to poison Grypus, and is 120. poisoned herself.
3890. *Antiochus Cyzicus*, son of Antiochus Sidetes 114. and Cleopatra, take arms against Grypus: at first he loses, but in two years obliges his brother to divide with him the kingdom of Syria.

Death

A. M.

S Y R I A.

Ant.

J. C.

3907. Death of Grypus, succeeded by his eldest son Seleucus. 97.
3910. Antiochus Cyzicus is defeated, and put to death. 94.
3911. Seleucus is routed by Antiochus Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia. 93.
Antiochus Eusebes, son of Cyzicus, causes himself to be declared king. He marries Selena, the widow of Grypus.
3912. *Antiochus*, brother to Seleucus and second son of Grypus, assumes the crown. He is soon after defeated by Eusebes, and drowned in the Orontes. 92.
3913. Philip third son of Grypus succeeds. 91.
3914. Demetrius Euchares, fourth son of Grypus, is made king at Damascus by the aid of Lathyrus. 90.
3916. Eusebes, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires to the Parthians, who reinstate him two years after. 88.
3919. Demetrius being prisoner in Parthia, *Antiochus* Dionysius fifth son of Grypus is king of Cœlesyria about three years. 85.
3921. The Syrians, resolving to exclude the house of Seleucus, chuse for their king Tigranes king of Armenia. He reigns fourteen years by his viceroy, Megadates. 83.
Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he dies.
3928. Death of Nicomedes king of Bithynia: that kingdom and Cyrenica in Africa are both made Roman provinces. 76.
3935. Tigranes recalls Megadates from Syria. 69.
3939. *Antiochus Assaticus* reigns over some parts of Syria, but after four years Pompey deprives him, and Syria becomes a Roman province. 65.

3859. Death of Ptolemy Philometor. His brother ^{145.}
Ptolemy Physcon succeeds him.
3868. The cruelties of Physcon at Alexandria, force ^{136.}
many of the inhabitants to leave it.
Physcon repudiates Cleopatra, and marries
her daughter of the same name by Philometor.
He is soon after forced to fly, and the Alexan-
drians give the government to *Cleopatra*, whom
he had divorced.
3877. Physcon reascends the throne of Egypt. ^{127.}
3882. Physcon gives his daughter in marriage to ^{122.}
Grypus king of Syria.
3887. Death of Physcon. *Ptolemy Lathyrus* succeeds ^{117.}
him. Cleopatra mother to Lathyrus, makes
him repudiate Cleopatra his elder sister, and
marry Selena his younger.
3891. Cleopatra, queen mother, gives the kingdom ^{113.}
of Cyprus to Alexander her younger son.
3897. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and ^{107.}
places on the throne his brother Alexander.
3900. Victory of Lathyrus over Alexander king of ^{104.}
the Jews near the Jordan.
3901. Cleopatra forces Lathyrus to raise the siege of ^{103.}
Ptolemais, and takes that city herself.
3903. Cleopatra takes her daughter Selena from La- ^{101.}
thyrous, and marries her to Antiochus Grypus.
3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra. ^{89.}
3916. Alexander is expelled and dies soon after. ^{88.}
Lathyrus is recalled.
3922. Lathyrus ruins Thebes in Egypt, where the ^{82.}
rebels retired after he had routed them.
3923. Death of Lathyrus. *Alexander II.* son of ^{81.}
Alexander I. is elected king under the protection
of Sylla.
3939. Alexander is driven out of Egypt. *Ptolemy* ^{65.}
Auletes natural son of Lathyrus takes his place.
The

TABLE.

A. M.

EGYPT.

241

Ant.

J. C.

3946. The Romans depose Ptolemy king of Cyprus. 38.
Cato seizes that island by order of the senate
Ptolemy Auletes flies from Egypt, and his eldest
daughter Berenice is declared queen.
3949. Antony and Gabinius restore Auletes. 55.
3953. Death of Ptolemy Auletes : he leaves his 58.
dominions to his eldest son and daughter, Ptolemy,
and the famed Cleopatra.
3956. Pothinus and Achillas, the young king's 48.
guardians, deprive Cleopatra, and force her out
of Egypt.
3957. Ptolemy the elder dies. Cæsar places Cleopatra upon the throne with Ptolemy her younger brother. 47.
3961. Cleopatra poisons her brother when come of 43.
age to share the authority. She after declares
for the Roman Triumvirate.
3962. In this juncture Cicero was murdered by Anthony's order, and with him dyed the commonwealth and liberty of Rome. 42.
3963. Cleopatra goes to Antony at Tarsus in Cilicia. 41.
She gains the ascendant of him, and takes him
with her to Alexandria.
3971. Antony subdues Armenia, and brings the 33.
king prisoner to Cleopatra. Coronation of Cleopatra and all her children.
Rupture between young Cæsar and Antony.
Cleopatra accompanies the latter, who repudiates Octavia at Athens.
3973. Cleopatra retreats at the battel of Actium. 35.
Antony follows her, and thereby leaves the victory to Cæsar.
3974. Antony dies in the arms of Cleopatra. 36.
Cæsar reduces Alexandria. Cleopatra kills herself. Egypt is made a Roman province.

242 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. CAPPADOCIA. PARTHIA. Ant.
J.C.

3644. *Ariarathes I.* was 360.
the first king of Cap-
padocia. He reigned
jointly with his bro-
ther Holophernes.
3663. *Ariarathes II.* son 336.
of the first. He is
dethroned and cruci-
fied by Perdiccas, who
sets up Eumenes.
3689. *Ariarathes III.* son 335.
of the IId. after the
death of Perdiccas and
Eumenes.
3720. *Ariamnes.* Son of 284.
the foresaid.
- Ariarathes IV.* Son
of Ariamnes.
3754. *Arsaces I.* founder of 250.
the Parthian empire.
- Arsaces II.* brother to
the first: named also
Tiridates.
3759. *Priapatius.* Son of 205.
Arsaces II.
- Ptolemaeus I.* Son of
Priapatius.
3814. *Ariarathes V.* Son 390.
of the IV.

JADITABLE.

243

A. M.

Ant.

PONTUS.

J.C.

3490. The kingdom of Pontus was founded by Da- 514.
rius the son of Hyrtaspes in the year 3490.
Artabazus was the first king: his successors
down to Mithridates are little known.
3600. *Mithridates I.* commonly considered as the 404.
first king of Pontus.
3638. *Ariobarzanes.* He reigns twenty-nine years. 366.

336. 3667. *Mithridates II.* He reigns thirty-five years. 337.

3702. *Mithridates III.* reigns thirty-six years. The 302.
three kings who succeed him include about eighty
years; the last of them was

Mithridates IV. great grandfather of Mith-
ridates the Great, king of Parthia.

3819. *Pharnaces* son of Mithridates IV. takes Sinope 185.
and makes it the capital of Pontus.

244 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. CAPPADOCIA. PARTHIA. J.C.

3840. *Mithridates I.* he took 164.
prisoner Demetrius
Nicator. 362.
3842. *Ariarathes VI.* Son
of the Vth. surnamed:
Phileator. 3873. *Pherætes II.* after kill- 135.
ling Antiochus Sidetes in
battel, he himself dies in
another.
3875. *Ariarathes VII.* Son
of the VIth. murder-
ed by Gordius; Artabanus, uncle to 129.
the former: his short
reign was succeeded by
Mithridates II. called
the Great, who reigned
forty years, and replaced
Antiochus Eusebes in
Syria. 91.
3913. *Ariarathes VIII.*
son of the VIIth.
He is killed by Mi-
thridates Eupator,
who sets up his own
son, eight years old. 90.
3914. *Ariarathes IX.* bro-
ther to the foresaid,
expels the son of Mi-
thridates, who is soon
replaced by his father. 39.
3915. *Sylla* enters Cappa-
dicia, expels the son
of Mithridates, and
sets up Ariobarzanes I. 3915. *Tigranes* king of
Armenia drives out
Ariobarzanes, and re-
institutes the son of
Mithridates. *Mnashires*, and after
him *Sinatrockes*. These
two reign about twenty
years.

TABLE X
A. M. 245
PONTUS. J. C.

3854. *Mithridates V.* surnamed Evergetes, aids the 150. Romans in the last Punic war. He is killed by his own servants.

3880. *Mithridates VI.* son of the Vth. surnamed 124. Eupator: at twelve years old, in the first of his reign, he puts his own mother and brother to death, and wears the crown sixtysix years.

3913. He treacherously stabs Ariarathes king of 91. Cappadocia, and sets up his own son.

3915. Beginning of the long war between Mithridates Eupator and the Romans. 89.

3916. Mithridates causes all the Romans in Lesser 88. Asia to be massacred in one day.
Archelaus, general to Mithridates, seizes Athens, and many other cities of Greece.

3926. Sylia obliges Mi-
thridates to restore
Cappadocia to Ario-
barzanes. Tigranes
expels him a second
time. Pompey rein-
states Ariobarzanes.
His, and the very
short reign of his son,
continue to about the
the year 3953.

78.

3535:

Pbraates III. sur- 69.
named the Good,

T A B L E.

247

A. M.

Ant.

P O N T U S.

J. C.

3917. Sylla is charged with the war against Mithridates. He retakes Athens after a long siege. 87.
3918. Sylla's victory at Cheronea ; and his other at Orcoménos. 86.
3920. Peace between Mithridates and Sylla. 84.
3921. Mithridates puts his son to death. 83.
- Second war between Mithridates and the Romans, continuing about three years.
3928. Mithridates makes a treaty with Sertorius. 76.
3929. Beginning of the third war of Mithridates with the Romans. Lucullus and Cotta are the Roman generals. 75.
3930. Cotta is defeated by sea and land, and shuts himself up in Chalcedon. Lucullus goes to his aid. 74.
3931. Mithridates besieges Cyzicum. Lucullus two years after obliges him to raise it, and beats him near the Granicus. 73.
3933. Mithridates, defeated in the plains of Cabira, retires to Tigranes. 71.
3934. Lucullus declares against Tigranes ; defeats him, and takes Tigranocerta the capital of Armenia. 70.
3936. Lucullus defeats the joint forces of Tigranes and Mithridates, near the river Arsanias. 68.
3937. Mithridates recovers all his dominions, caused by mutiny in the Roman army. 67.

248 CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M.

CAPPADOCIA.

PARTHIA.

Ant.
J. C.

3948.

Mithridates III. eldest son of Phraates. He is dethroned and put to death by his brother Orodes.

3950.

54.

3951.

53.

Orodes. Unfortunate expedition of Crassus in Parthia, where he is routed and soon after killed.

3953. *Ariobarzanes III.*

51.

He is taken prisoner and put to death by Cassius.

3962. *Ariarathes X.* brother to Ariobarzanes : he is ejected by Sisinnia, but reigns again.

42.

3965.

Ventidius, Roman general, gains several victories over the Parthians, particularly the battel of Zeugma.

3967.

Death of Orodes murdered by his eldest son who succeeds him.

2973.

Archelaus : He is placed on the throne by Mark Antony after expelling Ariarathes. On the death of Archelaus in 4025, who reigned 52 years, Cappadocia becomes a Roman province.

Phraates III. He puts all his brothers and his own son to death, to secure the possession to himself.

TABLE.

249

A. M.

Ant.

P O N T U S.

J. C.

3938. Pompey is appointed to succeede Lucullus : 66.
He defeats Mithridates, and obliges him to fly.
Tigranes surrenders himself to Pompey.
3939. Pompey takes Caina, where the treasures of 63.
Mithridates were laid up.
Death of Mithridates : his son Pharnaces submits his person and kingdom to the Romans.

Kings who usurped the crown of Egypt
after the conquest thereof by Cambyses.

The Egyptians revolt from Artaxerxes Longimanus, and chuse for their king,

3538. *Inarus* prince of Lybia. 460.
When he had reigned ten years he is subdued by Artaxerxes, and put to death five years after.
3590. Egypt revolts from Darius Nothus and sets up 4146
Amyrteus of Sais, who reigns six years, and is succeeded by
3596. *Achoris* : he helps Evagoras king of Cyprus 408.
against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and dies possesse of Egypt.
3628. *Psamutbis*, one year. 376.
Nepheritus, four months.
3630. *Taebos*. The Lacedemonians send Agesilaus 374.
king of Sparta to assist him against Artaxerxes ;
but Agesilaus betrays him, and places Nectanebus on the throne.
3642. *Nectanebus*. After a reign of twelve years 362.
he is reduced by Ochus, and retires into Ethiopia.
3654. *pia* where he dies ; being the last king of the 350.
Egyptian race.

Syracuse was founded in the year of the world
3295, before Christ 709.

3520. *Gelon's beginning.*

434.

3525. *Gelon* is elected king of Syracuse. He reigns 479. five or six years.

3532. *Hiero I.* He reigns eleven years.

472.

3543. *Tbrasybulus.* In a year's time he is expelled 461. by his subjects.

3544. The Syracusans enjoy their liberty sixty years. 460.

3589. The Athenians, assisted by the people of Se- 415. gesta, besiege Syracuse under their general Nicæas. They are obliged to raise it at the end of two years, are pursued and entirely defeated.

3593. Beginning of *Dionysius the Elder.*

413.

3598. *Dionysius*, after deposing the ancient magistracy of Syracuse, is placed at the head of the new, and soon after causes himself to be declared Generalissimo.

406.

3600. Revolt of the Syracusans against Dionysius 404. on the taking of Gela by the Carthaginians. It is followed by a treaty between the Carthaginians and Syracusans, whereby Syracuse is to continue subject to Dionysius. New troubles arise, but he composes them.

T A B L E.

251

A. M.

Ant.

C A R T H A G E.

J. C.

Carthage was founded in the year of the world 3158, before Christ 846.

- 3501. First treaty between the Carthaginians and 503. Romans, by which it appears that the former had then part of Sicily ; tho the beginning of that is unknown.
- 3520. The Carthaginians make an alliance with 484. Xerxes.
- 3523. The Carthaginians, under *Hamilcar*, attack 481. the Greeks in Sicily, but are intirely defeated, and Hamilcar slain.
- 3592. *Hannibal*, grandson of Hamilcar and son of 412. Gisgo, is sent from Carthage to aid the Segestans against the Syracusans. He takes Selinuntum and Himera, which last is destroyed.
- 3595. Hannibal goes again to Sicily with *Imilcon* his 409. Lieutenant. Agrigentum is taken and cruelly used.
- 3600. The Carthaginian war in Sicily terminates by 404. a treaty with king Dionysius.

252 CHRONOLOGICAL

A. M.

SYRACUSE.

Ant.

J. C.

3605. Dionysius makes great preparations for a new war with the Carthaginians. 399.
3607. Massacre of all the Carthaginians in Sicily, followed by a declaration of war, which Dionysius sent by a herald to Carthage. 397.
3615. Dionysius takes Rhegium by capitulation: the next year he breaks the treaty, and takes it by force. He invites Plato to court, and sells him for a slave. 389.
3632. Death of Dionysius. His son *Dionysius the Younger* succeeds. Plato comes to his court. Dion, banished by order of Dionysius, retires to the Peloponese. 372.
3643. Dionysius makes his sister Arete, wife of Dion, marry Timocrates one of his friends; for which treatment Dion resolves to attack the tyrant with open force. 361.
3644. Dion obliges Dionysius to abandon Syracuse, and retire to Italy. 360.
3646. Calippus causes Dion to be murdered, and reigns in Syracuse about thirteen months. 358.
3647. Hipparinus, brother to Dionysius the Younger, drives Calippus out of Syracuse, and reigns two years. 357.
3654. Dionysius reinstated. 350.
3656. The Syracusans call Timoleon to their aid. 348.
3657. Dionysius is forced by Timoleon to surrender himself, and retire to Corinth. 347.
3658. Timoleon abolishes tyranny at Syracuse, and restores liberty through all Sicily. 346.
3685. Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse. 319.

A. M.

Ant.

CARTHAGE.

J. C.

3607. Imilcon returns into Sicily to pursue the war 397.
against Dionysius. It subsists four or five years.

3554. Second treaty of peace between Rome and 350.
Carthage.

356. The Carthaginians make a new attempt upon 348.
Sicily. They are defeated by Timoleon, sent by
the Corinthians to aid the Syracusans.
Hanno, citizen of Carthage, endeavors to
usurp the government.

3672. Embassy of Tyre to Carthage to demand aid 362.
against Alexander the Great.

3685. Beginning of the war in Africa and Sicily be- 319.
tween the Carthaginians and Agathocles.

254 CHRONOLOGICAL
A. M. SYRACUSE.

- | | Ante |
|---|-------|
| | J. C. |
| 3724. A Roman legion seizes Rhegium basely. | 280. |
| 3727. Death of Agathocles by poison. | 277. |
| 3729. Hiero II. and Artemidorus receive the supreme authority of Syracuse. | 275. |
| 3736. Hiero is declared king. | 268. |
| 3741. Appius Claudius goes to aid the Mamertines against the Carthaginians in Sicily. Hiero deserts the latter and makes an alliance with the Romans. | 263. |
| 3763. Hiero aids the Carthaginians against the foreign mercenaries. | 241. |
| 3786. Hiero meets the consul Sempronius, and offers to join against the Carthaginians. | 218. |

A.M.

M.A.H.

CARTHAGE.

J. C.

3727. The Carthaginians send Mago to assist the Romans against Pyrrhus. 277.
3741. Beginning of the first Punic war with Rome, 263, subsisting twentyfour years.
3743. The Romans besiege the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, which is taken in seven months. 261.
3745. Seafight between the Romans and Carthaginians near Myle in Sicily. 259.
3749. Seafight near Ecnoma in Sicily. 255.
3750. *Regulus in Africa*, taken prisoner. 254. *Xantippus* comes to aid the Carthaginians.
3755. Regulus is sent to Rome to propose an exchange of prisoners. At his return the Carthaginians, according to some, put him to death. 249.
3756. Siege of Lilybeum by the Romans. 248.
3763. Carthaginians defeated near the Aegates, followed by a treaty, which finishes the first Punic war. 241.
- War of Lybia against the Mercenaries ; continues three years and four months.
3767. The Carthaginians give up Sardinia to the Romans, and pay them 1200 talents. 237.
3776. *Hamilcar* is killed in Spain. His son in law *Asdrubal* succeeds as general of the army. 228. Hannibal is sent into Spain at the request of his uncle Asdrubal.
3784. Asdrubal's death. *Hannibal* succeeds as general. 220.
3786. Siege of Saguntum. 218. Beginning of the second Punic war, continuing seventeen years.
3787. Hannibal enters Italy, and gains the battels of Ticinum and Trebia. 217.

A. M.

SYRACUSE.

M. C.

J. C.

3789. Death of Hiero II. succeeded by his grandson 215.
Hieronymus.

Hieronymus leaves the Roman party and joins with Hannibal. He is assassinated soon after, which produces great troubles in Syracuse.

3792. Marcellus takes Syracuse, after a siege of 212. three years.

TABLE.

A. M.

Ant.

CARTHAGE.

J. C.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------|
| 3783. | Battel of Trasymene.
Hannibal deceives Fabius at Caflinum. | 216. |
| | Cneus Scipio defeats the Carthaginians in Spain. | |
| 3789. | Battle of Cannæ. Hanibal retires to Capua. | 215. |
| | | |
| 3790. | Asdrubal brother to Hannibal is defeated in Spain by the two Scipios. | 214. |
| | | |
| 3792. | The two Scipios Publius and Cneus are killed in Spain.
The Romans besiege Capua. | 213. |
| 3794. | Hannibal besieges Rome. The Romans soon after take Capua. | 210. |
| 3798. | Asdrubal enters Italy; is defeated and slain by the consul Livius joined by the other consul Nero. | 206. |
| 3799. | Scipio, Publius Cornelius, surname Africanus subdues all Spain. He is made consul the next year and goes to Africa. | 205. |
| 3802. | Hannibal is recalled. | 202. |
| 3803. | Interview of Hannibal and Scipio in Africa, followed by a bloody battel, with a complete victory gained by the Romans. | 201. |
| 3804. | Treaty of peace between the Carthaginians and Romans, which puts an end to the second Punic war. | 200. |
| | Fifty years elapse between the end of the second Punic war, and beginning of the third. | |
| 3810. | Hannibal is made prætor of Carthage: he reforms the finances and courts of justice. After | 194. |

258 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.

CARTHAGE.

Ant.

J.C.

two years, he retires to King Antiochus at Ephesus, whom he advises to carry the war into Italy.

- 3813. Interview of Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus. 191.
- 3816. Hannibal retires to the island of Crete, to 188. avoid being betrayed to the Romans.
- 3820. Hannibal leaves Crete, and takes refuge with 184. Prusias king of Bithynia.
- 3822. Death of Hannibal. 182.
- 3823. The Romans send commissioners into Africa, 181. to examine the differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.
- 3843. Second commission sent from Rome by Cato 156. to settle the differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.
- 3855. Beginning of the third Punic war, during a 149. little more than four years.
- 3856. Carthage is besieged by the Romans. 148.
- 3858. Scipio the younger surnamed Æmilianus is 146. made consul, and commands the army before Carthage.
- 3859. Scipio takes and destroys Carthage. 145.

End of the TABLE.

INDEX

INDEX

To the TWELVE VOLUMES.

- A** BANTIDAS tyrant of *Acheans*, settled by Achæus
Sicyon, IX. 83 in Peloponesus, III. 16.
Abdéra in Thrace, III. 230 their commonwealth and
Abdolonymus king of Sidon, his cities, IX. 81. their war
answertoAlexander, VII. 167 with Sparta, 123. in a
Abelox, his treachery, I. 249 war with Etolia they have
Abradates, king of Susiana, recourse to Philip, 182. they
II. 155. killed in Thym- join the Romans against
bria battel, 173 that prince, 311. and An-
Abraham goes to Eggyt with tiochus, X. 64. their cru-
Sarah, I. 68. *Moses* puts elty at Sparta, 116.
him near Nimrod, II. 60 they subject the Messeni-
Abutitcs, governor of Susa, ans, 151. they send depu-
VII. 233 ties to Rome concerning
Abydos in Asia, naval battel Sparta, but Callicrates be-
gained by Alcibiades over trays them. 155. The
the Lacedemonians, IV. Acheans joyn the Romans
252. besieged and taken against Perseus, 297. they
by king Philip : its trag- are suspected and cruelly
ical end, IX. 281, 283. treated by the Romans,
Academy, or Musæum at XI. 64. the Acheans de-
Alexandria, VIII. 274 clare war against the Lace-
Acarnians, or Acarnanians, demonians, insult the Ro-
IX. 228 man commissioners, 89.
Aebean league, IX. 81, 239. and ingage Thebes and
X. 132 Chalcis

- Chalcis to join them, but
are defeated by Metellus,
and after by Mummius, 94.
Corinth is destroyed, and
Achaia made a Roman pro-
vince. 96
- Achæmenes*, brother to Xerxes,
III. 202
- Achæmenes*, brother to Ar-
taxerxes Longimanus com-
mands the army against
Egypt, and is killed near
Memphis. IV. 20
- Achæus*, founder of Achaia,
III. 202
- Achæus*, cousin to Seleucus
Ceraunus, governor of Asia
Minor, he revenges the
death of that prince; re-
fuses the crown, and pre-
serves it for Antiochus the
Great, IX. 157. he re-
volts, is betrayed to An-
tiochus, and put to death,
178
- Achilles*, remark on him.
II. 293. VII. 123
- Aesculapius*, first practical
physician, II. 293
- Achillas*, young Ptolemy's
guardian, deprives Cleo-
patra, XII. 131
- Achoris*, king of Egypt, VI.
256
- Acrecorinth, the high citadel
of Corinth, IX. 90. XI. 41
- Aicorius*, general of the
Gauls, invades Macedonia
and Greece, where he pe-
rishes, VIII. 302 to 307
- Acilius* the consul defeats An-
tiochus near Thermopy-
læ, and subjects the Eto-
lians, X. 65, to 73
- Acilius*, young Roman, his
stratagem to make Perseus
quit his asylum, XI. 33
- Acrotates*, son of Areus king
of Sparta, IX. 31 to 34
- Actium*, famous for Anto-
ny's defeat, XII. 162
- Ada*, governs Caria after the
death of her husband Iori-
æus, VII. 132
- Adberbal*, the Carthaginian,
defeats the Romans at sea,
I. 196
- Adimantes*, one of the Athe-
nian generals, escapes death
after his defeat at *Aegos-*
potamos, IV. 283
- Admetus*, king of Molossus,
III. 290
- Admetus*, Alexander's officer,
VII. 181
- Adonis*, Feasts in honour of
him at Athens, IV. 184
- Adore*, its etymology, II. 302
- Adramyttum*, city of Troas,
II. 84
- Adraustus*, prince, See Atys.
- Aeacidas*, king of Epirus,
deposed by the intrigues
of king Philip, but re-
ascends the throne, VII.
50
- Aeacides*

- Aeacides*, king of Epirus, banished by his subjects, VIII. 166
- Aege*, in Macedonia, IX. 30
- Aegina*, island, III. 182
- Aegospotamos*, or Egos river, where Lysander beat the Athenians, IV. 280
- Aemilia*, sister to Paulus *Aemilius*, leaves her estate to Scipio *Aemilianus*. II. 28
- Aemilius, Paulus*, consul, sets out for Macedonia, XI. 5. he defeats Perseus near Pydna, 22 to 29. Perseus and his children are prisoners, 34. After visiting the famous cities of Greece, he returns and enters Rome in great triumph, 48.
- Aemilius Lucius*, consul with Varro, is killed at the battel of Cannæ, I. 249 to 253
- Aemilius, Quintus*, sends Pyrrhus notice of a design to poison him, IX. 19
- Aena*, temple in Media, IX. 270
- Aeneas*, not cotemporary with Dido, I. 135
- Aeneas*, author of a treatise on war, IX. 248
- Aenobarbus*, consul, joins Anthony, XII. 158
- Aeolus*, son of Hellenus, reigns in Thessaly, III. 16
- Aeolis*, province of Asia Minor, III. 5
- Aera* of Nabonassar, II. 81.
- of the Lagides, VIII. 305.
- the Seleucides, 194
- Aesibines*, orator, accuses Demosthenes, is cast and banished, VII. 80
- Aesop* the Phrygian, his history, III. 88
- Africa*, discovered by Necho, I. 90. Hanno sails round it by order of the senate 126
- Agamemnon*, king of Mycenæ, III. 12.
- Agariſta*, wife of Megacles. Her father's conduct in chusing her husband, III. 61
- Agatboclea*, concubine of Ptolemy Philopator, IX. 180. her miserable end, 277
- Agatbocles* seizes the tyranny of Syracuse, I. 163. his war with the Carthaginians, he brings over Ophellas to his side, and then kills him, 172. His own miserable end. 173
- Agatbocles*, governor of Parthia for Antiochus, IX. 54
- Agatbocles*, brother of Agathoclea, IX. 180. perishes miserably, 277
- Agetas*, ambassador to Philip : wisdom of his discourse, IX. 217
- Age-*

- Ageſilaus* king of Sparta, his education and character ; his expeditions in Asia, V. 74 to 92. the Ephori recall him to defend his country, 93. he gains a victory over the Thebans at Coronæa where he is wounded, 103. he returns to Sparta, and discovers the conspiracy of Lysander, 106. dispute between Ageſilaus and Epaminondas at Sparta, he causes war to be declared against the Thebans, and saves those who fled from the battel of Leuctra, VI. 201 to 220. actions of Ageſilaus in Egypt, he declares for Nectanebis against Tachos, and dies on his return to Sparta, 260 to 264
Ageſilaus, uncle to Agis king of Sparta, abuses his trust, is wounded, and left for dead, IX. 125
Ageſipolis, king of Sparta with Ageſilaus, his actions and death, VI. 184 to 189
Ageſipolis king at Sparta with Lycurgus, IX. 191. he is dethroned by Lycurgus, and retires to the Romans, X. 31
Ageſistrata, mother of Agis king of Sparta, is put to death, IX. 118, 120
Agis, widow of Agis king of Sparta, forced by Leonidas to marry Cleomenes, IX. 121. death of that princeſ, 136
Agis I. son of Euryſthenes, king of Sparta, inſlaves the people of Elos, near Sparta, III. 121
Agis II. king of Sparta, ſon of Archidamus, IV. 195 makes war againſt Elis, and owns Leotychides for his ſon at his death, V. 73
Agis III. king of Sparta, ſon of another Archidamus, commands the Lacedæmonians, and is killed in a battel againſt Antipater, VII. 255
Agis IV. king of Sparta, ſon of Eudamidas, indeavours to revive the institutions of Lycurgus, but Ageſilaus prevents the design. He is ſent to aid the Achaeans againſt the Etolians; on his return to Sparta he is condemned and executed, IX. 102 to 121
Agriculture eſteemed by the antients, especially in Egypt, I. 54. In Persia, II. 266. and in Sicily, IV. 78. XI. 301.
Agrigentum, foundation of that city, IV. 177. its riches and description, ſubjected

jected by the Carthaginians, VI. 72. I. 148 to 150. and after by the Romans, 179
Agron, king of Illyria, IX. 97
Abaz, king of Judah, tributary to Tiglath, II. 81
Albanians, subdued by Pompey, XII. 106
Alexander, young Spartan, puts out one of Lycurgus's eyes, III. 26
Acetas, king of Epirus, ancestor to Pyrrhus and Alexander the Great, VII. 13
Alcibiades, when very young wins the prize of valor at Potidea in company with Socrates, IV. 62. He begins to advance at Athens and excites the war with Sicily : he is elected general with Nicias and Lamachus : he is accused of having mutilated the statues of Mercury : he sets out for Sicily without bringing that affair to a tryal, and is condemned to die for contumacy : he retires to Sparta and gets a son by Timæa, the wife of Agis, IV. 163 to 195. his return to Athens being concerted, he is recalled and beats the Lacedemonian fleet : he goes to Tissaphernes, who causes him to be carried prisoner to Sardis, from whence

escaping, he defeats Mindarus and Pharnabazus by sea and land the same day : he returns in triumph to Athens, and is declared generalissimo : he causes the great mysteries to be celebrated : he sails with the fleet, and Thrasybulus accuses him at Athens of having occasioned the defeat near Ephesus : the command is taken from him : he comes to the Athenian generals at Ægospotamos, who reject his wife council. IV. 244 to 281. Alcibiades retires to Pharnabazus, who causes him to be assassinated, his character. V. 7. he excelled all in the Grecian games, for victory and splendor, VI. 23
Alcibiades, one of the Spartan exiles, is reinstated by the Achaeans, and sent to Rome with complaints against them : the Achaeans condemn him to die ; but they soon annul that sentence, X. 140 to 147
Alcimus commands Demetrius Soter's army against the Jews, XI. 137
Alcmeonidæ expelled Athens by Pisistratus, III. 64. they rebuild the temple of Delphos, 67

Alcyoneus.

- Akyoneus* carries the head of Pyrrhus to his father, IX. 39
- Alexamenes* sent by the Etolians to seize Sparta, his avarice ruins the design: he is killed in Sparta, X. 57
- Alexandra*, widow of Alexander Janneus, queen of Judea, XI. 212
- Alexander*, king of Macedonia, son of Amyntas I, avenges the affront given his mother and sisters by the Persian ambassadors, III. 162. he proposes peace to the Athenians from the Persians, but tells the Greeks their design, 254 and 261
- Alexander*, son of Amyntas II, dies after one years reign, VI. 229
- Alexander*, surnamed the Great, son of Philip, VII. 13, 14. particular detail of his birth and education, VII. 99. his master Aristotle, 102. his horse Bucephalus, 107. he ascends the throne of Macedon, 109. destroys the city of Thebes, 111. a summary of his expeditions, 118. many great actions and victories, V.I. 120 to the end, and VIII. 1, to 38. He enters Babylon: he celebrates Herodotus's funeral with surprising grandeur: he forms various designs of expeditions and conquests: he sets people to repair the banks of the Euphrates, and rebuild the temple of Belus: he abandons himself to drinking, which proves his death, VIII. 39 to 50. opinions concerning him and his character, 50 to 82. the pomp of his funeral: his body carried to Alexandria, 126, 129. Daniel's prophecies concerning him, VII. 196. his excessive pride, 219. his empire parted into four great kingdoms, VIII. 89
- Alexander*, son of Alexander the Great, is elected king, VIII. 105. Cassander first deprives him of the sovereignty, 168, then puts him to death, 198
- Alexander* the Great, his father Philip, their wives, and all their descendants, perished by violent deaths, VIII. 200, 260.
- Alexander*, son of Cassander, disputes the crown of Macedonia with his brother Antipater: he is killed by Demetrius whom he calls in to his aid, VIII. 259, 260.

Alexander

- Alexander*, king of Epirus, marries Cleopatra daughter of king Philip, VII. 87
- Alexander*, son of Pyrrhus by Lanassa, daughter of Agathocles, I. 175. IX. 24
- Alexander Balus* conspires against Demetrius Soter, and ascends the throne of Syria: he marries Cleopatra daughter of Ptolemy Philometor; Ptolemy declares against him in favor of Demetrius Nicator: Alexander is betrayed and beheaded, XI. 142 to 148
- Alexander Zebina* dethrones Demetrius king of Syria, XI. 180. he is defeated by Antiochus Grypus, and killed soon after, 184
- Alexander I*, son of Ptolemy Physcon, is made king of Egypt, XI. 194. he puts his mother Cleopatra to death, 200. he is expelled by his subjects, and perishes soon after, 201
- Alexander II*, son of Alexander I, reigns in Egypt after the death of Lathyrus, he marries Cleopatra Berenice, and kills her nineteen days after, XI. 203. The Alexandrians dethrone him: he dies and leaves the Roman people his heirs. 212.
- XII. 118.
- Alexander Jannæus* reigns in Judea, XI. 224. he attacks the inhabitants of Ptolemais, 194. Lathyrus defeats him near the Jordan, 195. his revenge upon Gaza: the gross affront he receives at the feast of tabernacles, his brutal revenge and death, 225, 227
- Alexander* tyrant of Pheræ, seizes Pelopidas by treachery, and puts him in prison, VI. 228, 230. but is released by Epaminondas, 234. he is defeated near Cynocephale, 235. and killed in his bed, 236, 239
- Alexander*, son of Æropus forms a conspiracy against Alexander the Great, and is put to death, VII. 134
- Alexander*, son of Polyspercon, accepts the government of Peloponnesus, and is killed in Sicyon, VIII. 170
- Alexander*, governor of Persia for Antiochus the Great, IX. 158. he revolts, and makes himself sovereign, but perishes miserably, 164
- Alexander*, deputy from the Etolians to the assembly of the allies held at Tempe, X. 14
- Alexander*, pretended son of A a Perseus,

- Perseus, is expelled Macedonia, XI. 88
 Alexander, son of Antony and Cleopatra, XII. 155
 Alexandria in Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, I. 25.
 VII. 208. its florishing state, XI. 163, its famous library destroy'd. VIII. 274 to 277. XII. 137
 Alexandria, upon the Iaxartes, VII. 279
 Alexis, governor of Apamea, betrays Epigenes, Antiochus's general, IX. 163
 Alipera city, IX. 196
 Allobroges, their country, and Alps, mountains, I. 228.
 Amasis, officer to Apries, is proclaimed king of Egypt, and confirmed by Nebuchadnezar : he defeats Apries, and puts him to death : he reigns peaceably in Egypt : he dies, I. 96 to 102. but his body is taken up and burnt by order of Cambyses, II. 235
 Amazons, VII. 260
 Ambition, two sorts, II. 100
 its character by Seneca, III. 210. the Pagans Held it a virtue, V. 40
 Amenophis, king of Egypt, his manner of educating his son Sesostris : this king is the Pharaoh drowned in the Redsea, I. 69, 70
 Amestris, wife of Xerxes, her monstrous revenge, III. 273
 Amestris, wife of Teriteunes, and daughter of Darius, V. 4
 Amisus, besieged by Lucullus, Callimachus the governor sets it on fire, XII. 68, 73
 Ammonians, famous temple, II. 236, VII. 207 to 211
 Amnesty, famous one at Athens, and when such are proper, V. 15, 16
 Amorges revolts against Darius Nothus, and is taken, IV. 240
 Amphares, one of the Spartan Ephori, his treachery and cruelty to king Agis, IX. 118, 120
 Amphyllion, king of Athens his confederacy, or assembly of the Greek states, III. 12. V. 231. their decree against the Phocleans, VII. 21
 Arpibopolis besieged by Cleon IV. 168. Philip takes it from the Athenians, VII. 8, II. X. 232
 Amyntander, king, X. 2, 3
 Amyntas I, king of Macedon submits to Darius, III. 162
 Amyntas II, king, father of Philip, VII. 1.
 Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, excluded from the throne of Macedonia, VII. 6
 Amyntas

- Amyntas*, deserter from Alexander, seizes the government of Egypt, and is killed there. VII. 205
- Amyntas*, one of Alexander's officers, VII. 232
- Amyrteus*, Egyptian general who had revolted against Artaxerxes Longimanus, IV. 21, 41. he drives the Persians out of Egypt, and is declared king, 252
- Amytis*, Nebuchadnezar's wife, II. 69
- Amytis*, sister to Artaxerxes Longimanus, IV 24
- Anacharsis*, one of the seven sages, his contempt of riches, III. 87
- Anacreon*, poet, III. 81
- Anaitis*, her golden statu, XII. 152
- Anaxagoras*, his doctrine, IV. 31, 69
- Anaxander*, and *Anaxidamus*, kings of Sparta, III. 121
- Anaxilaus*, of Zancle, IV. 85
- Anaximenes*, how he saved his his country, VII. 123
- Ancyra* in Galatia, where Seleucus Callinicus was routed by his brother Antiochus Hierax, IX. 74
- Andranadorus*, guardian to Hieronymus king of Syracuse, after whose death he designs to ascend the throne,
- but is killed with others, XI. 314 to 322
- Andriscus* pretends himself son of Perseus; he defeats the Romans commanded by Junius, he is twice defeated by Metellus, and sent to Rome, XI. 84 to 88
- Andromachus*, governor of Syria and Palestin for Alexander, burnt to death at Samaria, VII. 212
- Andromachus*, uncle and brother in law to Seleucus Ceraunus, is kept prisoner by Ptolemy Evergetes, IX. 157. Ptolemy Philopator sets him at liberty, 168
- Andromachus* of Carræ deceives Crassus, XI. 266
- Andronicus*, general for Antigonus at the taking of Tyre, VIII. 187. is forced after to surrender to Ptolemy, 191
- Andronicus* Perseus's officer, why put to death, X. 302
- Andronicus* of Rhodes, to whom we are indebted for the works of Aristotle, XII. 59
- Angels*. The Pagans opinion concerning them, V. 142
- Anicius*, Roman prætor, reduces Gentius king of Illyria, and sends him to Rome, XI. 15
- Aaz*
- Animal*

X INDEX.

- Animal worship*, explained by Plutarch, I. 42
- Antalcides* of Sparta makes a scandalous peace for the Greeks with Persia, V. 108
- Antigone*, Philotas's mistress, accuses him to Alexander, VII. 267
- Antigone*, wife to Pyrrhus, and daughter of Philip a noble Macedonian by Berenice, who after married Ptolemy Soter, VIII. 255, 256
- Antigonea*, city built by Antigonus the first, and destroyed by Seleucus, VIII. 245, 251.
- Antigonus* the first, one of Alexander's captains, divides the empire of that prince with the rest, VIII. 205. and makes war against several of them, 144. he puts to death Cleopatra, widow, queen of Egypt, and designs to reinstate the liberty of Greece, 200. he recovers Athens and is made king, 207. he prepares to invade Egypt, 217. he loses a great battel at Ipsus, where he is killed, 247
- Antigonus Gonatas*, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes makes himself king of Macedo- nia, VIII. 309. Pyrrhus drives him out, IX. 29. he marches to relieve Argos besieged by that prince; he takes the whole army and camp of Pyrrhus, and celebrates his death and funeral with great magnificence, 37 to 40. he besieges and takes Athens, 45. he surprizes the citadel of Corinth, IX. 90. death of Antigonus Gonatas, 73
- Antigonus Doson*, as Philip's guardian, reigns in Macedonia, IX. 80. he helps the Acheans against the Lacedemonians, 130. and gains the famous battel of Selasia against Cleomenes, 131 to 143. reduces the Illyrians, and dies, 151, 152
- Antigonus*, nephew of Antigonus Doson, discovers to Philip the innocence of Demetrius, and the guilt of Perseus, X. 193. he is put to death by Perseus, 258
- Antigonus*, a Macedonian lord in the court of Perseus, XI. 12
- Antigonus* is put to death by his brother Aristobulus I, XI. 222
- Antigonus*, son of Aristobulus II, made king of Judea; he is besieged in Jerusalem,

- rusalem, he surrenders, and is basely executed by order of Mark Antony, **XL.** 237 to 241.
- Antioch,** built by Seleucus on the Orontes, **VIII.** 251
- Antiochus,** lieutenant of Alcibiades defeated by the Lacedemonians, **IV.** 263
- Antiochus I,** surnamed Soter, king of Syria, marries Stratonice his father's wife, **VIII.** 295. he endeavors to seize the kingdom of Pergamus, but is defeated by Eumenes, and dies, **IX.** 49
- Antiochus II,** surnamed Theos, king of Syria, **IX.** 49. he makes peace with Ptolemy, and marries his daughter Berenice, 49 to 55, Daniel's prophecies concerning him: he is poisoned by his first wife Laodice, **55 to 65**
- Antiochus Hierax** commands in Asia minor, and defeats his brother Seleucus, but is defeated by Eumenes, and killed by robbers, **IX.** 66 to 76
- Antiochus III,** surnamed the Great, king of Syria: he marries Laodice daughter of Mithridates, and sacrifices Epigenes, the best of his generals, to the jeal-
- ousy of Hermias, **IX.** 158 to 164. he loses a great battel at Raphia, makes peace with Ptolemy, subdues and beheads Achaeus, 164 to 179. His expeditions into Media, Parthia and India, 169. his actions with the Romans and Hannibal, **X.** 24 to 41. he makes himself master of Chalcis, and all Eubœa: the Romans declare war against him: he makes an ill use of Hannibal's council; and is defeated near Thermopylae, 61 to 69. he loses a great battel near Magnesia, 87 to 92. in order to pay his tribute to the Romans, he plunders a temple in Elymais, and is killed, **123**
- Antiochus,** eldest son of Antiochus the Great, dies in his youth, **X.** 48
- Antiochus IV.** named Epiphanes, goes a hostage to Rome, **X.** 94. king of Syria, 201. he conquers Egypt, and takes the king prisoner, whom he replaces on the throne. He renewes the war in Egypt, and vents his rage on the Jews, by destroying all Jerusalem, where the most horrid butcheries are committed.

He designs to exterminate the Jews, but in his way to Judea dies in great torment. Daniel's prophecy concerning him, 201 to 243

Antiochus V., called Eupator, king of Syria: he is twice defeated by Judas Macabeus, XI. 124 to 129. he makes peace with the Jews, and destroys the fortifications of the temple. Romans discontented with Eupator, his soldiers deliver him to Demetrius, who puts him to death, 136,

137

Antiochus VI. named Theos, the son of Alexander Ballus is made king of Syria by Tryphon, who soon after secretly destroys him,

XI. 151, 153, 155

Antiochus VII., called Sidetes, marries Cleopatra wife of Demetrius, and is proclaimed king of Syria: he dethrones Tryphon, who is put to death, XI. 160. he besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem and takes the city, 172. he turns his arms against Parthia, where he is slain,

174

Antiochus VIII., called Grypus, king of Syria, his mother Cleopatra endeavors to poison him, and

is poisoned herself, XI. 184.

He and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicium, divide the empire of Syria between them, 189. he is assassinated,

Antiochus IX., surnamed Cyzicus, his story, XI. 186 he loses a battel against Seleucus the son of Grypus, and is put to death, 199

Antiochus X., named Eusebes, son of Antiochus the Cyzicenian, is crowned king of Syria, and expels Seleucus, XI. 199. but is expelled himself and dies in Cilicia,

202

Antiochus XI., son of Grypus would revenge the death of his brother Seleucus, but is defeated and drowned in the Orontes,

XI. 199

Antiochus XII. surnamed Dionyius reigns about three years,

XI. 200

Antiochus XIII., called Asiaticus, reigns some time in Syria, but is deprived by Pompey, XI. 204 to 210,

XII. 108.

Antipas, or *Antipater*, the Edomean, Herod's father,

XI. 231. XII. 141

Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant, appointed viceroy of Macedonia, VII. 121. he defeats the Lacedemonians

- demonians who had revolted, VII. 255. Alexander takes the government from him, VIII. 37. suspicions of him as to Alexander's death, 51. he is beat near Lamia, 113. he seizes Athens and puts Hyperides and Demosthenes to death, 121. he is appointed regent of Macedonia instead of Perdiccas, 138. death and praise of Antipater, 143
- Antipater*, eldest son of Cassander, dispute between him and his brother Alexander for the crown of Macedonia : he kills his own mother who favored his younger brother, Demetrius expels him : he retires into Thrace and dies there, VIII. 259
- Antippon*, courtier of Dionyfius : witty answer which cost him his life, VI. 111
- Antony, Mark*, contributes by his valour to replace Auletes upon the throne of Egypt, XII. 127. when triumvir he cites Cleopatra before him : his engagements with that princess, and history till his death, 145 to 171
- Aornus*, rock besieged and taken by Alexander, VII. 313
- Apamia*, the widow of Magas, IX. 52
- Apaturius*, officer to Seleucus Ceraunus, poisons him, and is put to death. IX. 157
- Apega*, infernal machine, invented by Nabis, IX. 267
- Apelles*, courtier of Philip, abuses his power, IX. 195 he kills himself, 213
- Apelles*, Perseus's accomplice in accusing Demetrius, X. 190 to 195
- Apelles*, officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, indeavours to make Matathias sacrifice to idols ; Matathias kills him with all his followers, X. 225
- Apellicon*, his library at Athens, XII. 58
- Apis*, Egyptian ox adored by that name, I. 38
- Apolloocrates*, eldest son of Dionyfius the younger, VI. 145, 155
- Apollodorus*, of Amphipolis, officer to Alexander, VII. 231
- Apollodorus*, friend of Cleopatra, favors the entrance of that princess into Alexandria, and in what manner, XII. 135
- Apollodorus*, governor of Gaza, basely murdered by his own brother Lysimachus, XI. 225
- Apollo*,

- Apollo*, his temple at Delphos, V. 288
- Apollonia*, where Philip was surprized in his camp by the Romans, IX. 222
- Apollonides*, officer in the army of Eumenes, hanged for his treachery, VIII. 139
- Apollonides*, magistrate of Syracuse, XII. 13
- Apollonius*, belonging to Antiochus Epiphanes, ambassador to Egypt and Rome, X. 206. is sent to destroy Jerusalem, 222. his cruelties there: he is after defeated by Judas Maccabeus, and killed in battel, 233
- Apollonius*, governor of Phenicia, marches against Jonathan and is defeated, XI. 146
- Apollonobanes*, physician to Antiochus the Great, IX. 166 169
- Appius*, Roman consul; sent to aid the Mamertines, he defeats the Carthaginians and Syracusans, I. 179. XI. 298
- Appius*, Roman senator, prevents the senate accepting the offers of Pyrrhus, IX. 10
- Appius*, Roman officer, is beat near Uscana, which he intended to plunder, X. 294
- Apries*, king of Egypt: Zedekiah implores his aid: he declares himself protector of Israel: Egypt revolts, and he is defeated by Amasis, taken prisoner, and put to death, I. 93 to 98
- Aquilius*, the proconsul, is defeated by Mithridates, insulted and put to death, XII. 37
- Aracofia*, Indian province, VII. 306
- Aradus*, island and city in Phenicia, II. 199
- Arcadia*, part of the Peloponese, III. 3. See VI. 219
- Aratus*, is appointed by Cyrus to keep Panthea prisoner, II. 153, 168
- Aratus*, son of Clinjas, escapes from Sicyon, to avoid the fury of Abantidas, IX. 83 he is elected general of the Achaeans, and takes Corinth from Antigonus, 85 to 95. he marches against the Etolians, and is defeated near Caphyæ, IX. 184. Philip's affection for Aratus, but Apelles accuses him falsely, 199. he accompanies Philip into Etolia, 201. Philip causes him to be poisoned. His magnificent funeral, praise and character, 224
- Aratus*

- Ariatus the younger*, chief magistrate of the Achaeans, IX. 193. Philip causes him to be poisoned, 225
Araxes, river, VII. 240
Arbaces, governor of the Medes for Sardanapalus, revolts, and founds the kingdom of Media, II. 78, 98
Arbaces, general in the army of Artaxerxes, against his brother Cyrus, V. 29
Arbela, city of Assyria, where Alexander beat Darius, VII. 219, 227
Arcefias, Alexander's lieutenant, province that fell to his lot, VIII. 106
Archagatbus, son of Agathocles, is killed by the soldiers, I. 173
Archelaus, governor of Susa for Alexander, VII. 235
Archelaus, general for Antigonus, marches against Ariatus, is taken prisoner, and set at liberty, IX. 94
Archelaus, general to Mithridates, takes Athens, XII. 40. he is driven out of it by Sylla, 45, 47 and 50. and defeated at Cheronaea and Orchomenos, after which he joins Muraena, 60
Archelaus, son of the former, high priest and sovereign of Comana, XI. 288, XII. 113. he marries Berenice queen of Egypt, and is killed in battel with the Romans. XII. 128
Archelaus, son of the latter, marries Glaphyra, who brings him two sons, XI. 288
Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, second son of Glaphyra, Tiberius does him great service with Augustus : he draws the revenge of Tiberius upon himself : he is cited to Rome, and dies there, XI. 289
Archias, Corinthian, founder of Syracuse, IV. 91, 176, XII. 20
Archias, Theban, is killed by the conspirators at a feast, VI. 195 to 198
Archias, comedian, delivers up the orator Hyperides to Antipater, VIII. 121
Archibius, his fidelity to Cleopatra, XII. 175
Archidamia, Spartan lady : heroic action of hers, IX. 32. she is put to death by Amphares, 120
Archidamus, king of Sparta, IV. 37.
Archidamus, son of Agefias, defeats the Arcadians, VI. 223, 241.

Archi-

- Archidamus*, brother of Agis, escapes from Sparta, IX. 120, Cleomenes recalls him, and he is murdered in returning home. 125
Archidamus, Etolian, ambassador to the Acheans, X. 63
Archilochus, Greek poet, his character, III. 76
Archimedes, geometrician, XI. 308. killed at the taking of Syracuse, XII. 2, to 7. his tomb discovered by Cicero, 16 to 19
Archimedes, poet, III. 19
Architas, philosopher, chief magistrate of Tarentum, VI. 135
Architecture, how far advanced by the Antients, I. 51. II. 289
Arbon, province that fell to him after Alexander's death, VIII. 106
Arbon elected chief magistrate of the Acheans, X. 295
Arbons, instituted at Athens, III. 13, V. 24, 226
Areopagus, at Athens, instituted by Cecrops, III. 12, V. 224. its dignity, III. 54. Pericles weakens its authority. V. 226
Aretas, king of Arabia submits to Pompey. XII. 113. 116
Atete, daughter of Dionysius, married to her brother Theorides, and after to her uncle Dion, VI. 114. she marries Timocrates, 136. Dion takes her again: her tragical end, 155, 159
Aretusa, fountain, IV. 196
Areus, grandson of Cleomenes, reigns at Sparta, IX. 30
Areus, another king of Sparta, IX. 103
Arcus, the Spartan exile condemned by the Acheans: his sentence is annulled by the Romans, X. 144
Argaeus, king of Macedon, defeated by Philip, VII. 8
Argilian, courier employed by Pausanias, III. 286
Arginusæ, islands where the Athenians defeat the Lacedemonians, IV. 269
Argives and Lacedemonians famous battel. III. 113
Argos, its foundation and kings, III. 11. its war with Sparta, 113. refuses to join the Greeks at war with Xerxes, 224. taken by Cassander, VIII. 169. besieged by Pyrrhus, IX. 37. rejects the Achean league, 99. subdued by the Lacedemonians, 134. recovered by Antigonus, 136. surrenders to Philocles, Philip's

- lip's general, 312. Philip delivers it to Nabis of Sparta, X. 4. Argos recovers its liberty, 35, 37
- Argyrapides*, the body of troops that betrayed Eume-
nes, VIII. 178, 180. de-
stroyed by Antigonus, 184
- Ariamnes*, Arabian chief, be-
trays Crassus, XI. 253
- Ariamnes*, king of Cappado-
cia, XI. 280
- Ariarathes I.* king of Cappa-
dicia, *ibid.*
- Ariarathes II.* king, son of
the first, he is defeated by
Perdiccas, who puts him
to death, VIII. 130, XI.
280
- Ariarathes III.* escapes into
Armenia after his father's
death, but ascends the
throne, XI. 280
- Ariarathes IV.* king of Cap-
padocia, *ibid.*
- Ariarathes V.* king of Cappa-
dicia, marries Antiochis,
daughter of Antiochus the
Great, X. 46. XI. 281. the
Romans fine him for
aiding his father in law,
X. 123. he sends his son
to Rome for education, and
declares for the Romans
against Perseus, X. 266,
269. death of Ariarathes,
XI. 70.
- Ariarathes*, named Philopater goes to Rome, X. 266, he refuses to reign during his father's life, XI. 281, 282. he is dethroned by Demetrius, but restored by king Attalus : he aids the Romans against Aristonicus, and is killed in that war, 282, 283
- Ariarathes VII.* king of Cap-
padocia : his brother in law
Mithridates Eupator causes
him to be murdered, XI.
284.
- Ariarathes VIII.* king of Cap-
padocia is murdered by the
same, XI. 284. XII. 32
- Ariarathes IX.* is defeated and
expelled by the same, XI.
284, XII. 72
- Ariarathes X.* king of Cappa-
dicia : Sifinna disputes
the possession and carries
it against him, Ariarathes
reigns a second time in Cap-
padocia, XI. 288
- Ariarathes*, son of Mithrida-
tes, king by usurpation,
and deposed by the Ro-
mans, XI. 285, XII. 32
- Aiaspes*, deceived by his bro-
ther Ochus, kills himself,
VI. 266
- Arieus*, bastard brother to
Alexander, is declared king
of Macedon, VIII. 54, 104.
Olympias causes him and
his

- his Wife Eurydice to be put to death, 165
- Arieus*, commands the left wing for Cyrus at the battel of Cunaxa, V. 30
- Arieus*, philosopher, XII. 171
- Arimazes*, governor of Petra Oxiana, submits to Alexander, who cruelly puts him and his retinue to death, VII. 287 to 290
- Ariobarzanes*, king of Pontus, VIII. 93, revolts against Artaxerxes, VI. 264
- Ariobarzanes* I. king of Cappadocia, XI. 285. he is twice dethroned by Tigranes, Pompey reinstates him, XII. 32 to 35. he resigns to his son, 109
- Ariobarzanes* II. king of Cappadocia, killed soon after, XI. 286
- Ariobarzanes* III., king of Cappadocia: Cicero suppresses a plot formed against him: he refuses to ally with Cassius, but is taken prisoner and put to death, XI. 286, 288
- Ariobarzanes*, governor of Persia for Darius, VII. 238
- Aristagoras*, governor of Miletus, defeated and killed in battel, III. 161 to 172
- Aristenes*, chief magistrate of the Acheans, his speech, IX. 307
- Aristides*, one of the Athenian generals at Marathon, III. 185. is banisht and recalled: he persuades Themistocles to the ingagement at Salamis, 245. gains the battel of Platea, 255. his other actions, death, and praise, 264 to 291
- Aristides*, famous painter, XI. 97
- Aristion*, tyrant of Athens, XII. 40. is besieged by Sylla; taken, and put to death, 45
- Aristippus*, philosopher, V. 147
- Aristippus*, citizen of Argos, IX. 36. becomes tyrant of it: he is killed: continual terrors in which he lived, 99, 101
- Aristobulus* I., son of John Hyrcanus, succeeds his father in the high priesthood and sovereignty of Judea: after killing his Mother and brother he dies with grief and despair, XI. 222
- Aristobulus* II. son of Alexander Janneus reigns in Judea: his conduct causes Pompey to secure him and send him to Rome, XI. 231, to 237
- Aristodemus*, one of the principal Heraclidæ, III. 17

Aristo-

- Aristodemus*, guardian to Agesipolis king of Sparta, V. 99
Aristodemus of Miletus, hostage at Athens, VIII. 205
Aristogiton. See Harmodius
Aristomache; married to Dionysius the tyrant, VI. 90
134
Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, killed by his servants, IX.
99
Aristomenes I. otherwise Aristodemus, offers up his daughter a sacrifice to the gods: he gets the prize of valor from Cleonnis: he is elected king of Messenia, he beats the Lacedemonians, and sacrifices three hundred of them with their king, to Jupiter of Ithomae: he sacrifices himself soon after upon his daughter's tomb. III. 115 to 119
Aristomenes II. king of Messenia, III. 121 to 124
Aristomenes of Acarnia, tutor to Ptolemy Epiphanes, IX. 286. who puts him to death, X. 28
322
Ariston, of Syracuse, comedian, discovers the conspiracy of Andranodus, XI.
322
Ariston, Syracusan pilot, IV.
229
Aristona, favorite wife of Darius, III. 126
Aristonicus, king of Pergamus, defeats the consul Crassus Mucianus and takes him prisoner; but is overcome by Perpenna, sent to Rome, and put to death, XI. 169
Aristonicus of Marathon put to death by Antipater, VIII. 120
Aristophanes, famous poet, V. 158, 230. VI. 51 to 57
Aristotle, preceptor to Alexander, VII. 14, 102. XII.
59
Armenes, son of Nabis, a hostage at Rome, X. 41
Armenia, province of Asia, II. 52. XII. 33. kings thereof, VIII. 95
Armour used by the antients, XI. 276
Arphaxad, name given in Scripture to Phraortes.
Arricibion, famous Wrestler, VI. 14.
Arrian, Greek historian, VII. 9. in the preface
Arsaces, See *Artaxerxes Memon*
Arsaces I. governor of Parthia revolts from Antiochus, IX. 54. he takes the title of king, XI. 77, XI. 244
Arsaces II. king of Parthia for Antiochus, IX. 269
273
XI. 344

- Aesames*, natural son of Ar-taxerxes Mnemon, killed by his brother Ochus, VI. 267
- Aesania*, river, battel there, XII. 91
- Ases* reigns in Persia after Ochus : Bagoas causes him to be murdered, VI. 300
- Arsinoe*, queen of Thrace, daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ceraunus ; fatal end of that marriage, VIII. 252. 301, she is banished 302.
- Arsinoe*, another daughter of Ptolemy Lagus, marries her brother Ptolemy Philadelphus, IX. 46. her death, 59
- Arsinoe*, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philopator, her death, IX. 174, 180, 191
- Arsinoe*, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes proclaimed queen of Egypt, XII. 138. Caesar carries her to Rome in triumph, 143. Antony, at the request of Cleopatra, causes her to be killed, 147
- Arsinoe*. See *Apamia*
- Arsites* put to death by his brother Ochus, IV. 148
- Arsites*, officer in Phrygia, occasions the Persian defeat at the Granicus, and kills himself, VII. 124, 127
- Artaban*, king of Parthia, killed in a fight with the Togarians, XI. 177
- Artaban*, his speech to his brother Darius, III. 151. he is made arbiter between the two sons of Darius as to the succession, 199. his speech to Xerxes, 204
- Artaban*, captain of the guard to Xerxes kills that prince, and is killed himself by Artaxerxes, III. 299
- Artabazans* disputes the crown of Persia with his brother Xerxes, which is given to the latter, III. 199
- Artabazanes*, king of Atropatia submits to Antiochus, IX. 165
- Artabazus*, Perian officer under Mardonius, his opinions slighted, III. 260. he escapes into Asia after the battel of Platea, and commands the coasts of Asia minor, II. 63, 283. he reduces the Egyptians who had revolted against Artaxerxes, IV. 21
- Artabazus*, first king of Pontus, VIII. 93. VII. 132
- Artabazus*, king of Armenia, his friendship to Crassus, XI. 251, 254, 272
- Artabazus*, a governor in Asia for Ochus, revolts against that

INDEX.

三

- that prince, but is compelled to fly into Macedonia, VI. 273. Ochus receives him into favor, 298. his fidelity to Darius, VII. 248. Alexander makes him governor of Petra Oxiana, 290
Artainta, her tragical story, III. 273
Artaphernes, governor of Sardis for his brother Darius, III. 77. he is besieged by the Athenians, 165, 169, 172
Artaphernes, ambassador from Persia to the Lacedemonians, IV. 144
Artaxata in Armenia, XII. 91
Artaxerxes I. surnamed Longimanus, in concert with Artaban kills his brother Darius, and is king of Persia, III. 299. he rideth himself of Artaban and that faction: he gives Themistocles refuge, IV. 2, 3. Egypt revolts but is reduced, 20. he gives up Inarus, contrary to the faith of treaty, 23. he permits Esdras and Nehemiah to return to Jerusalem, 25. his death, 145
Artaxerxes II. surnamed Mnesmon, king of Persia, V. 1. his brother Cyrus is resolved to murder him, but is sent to his government of Asia Minor, V. 3. he marches against Cyrus advancing to dethrone him, gives him battle at Cunaxa, and kills him with his own hand, 29 to 33. the Greeks return home, 49. his expedition against the Cadusians, 124. he receives a deputation from the Greeks VI. 224. and undertakes to reduce Egypt, 256. but most provinces of his empire revolt: troubles concerning his successor, 264, 265
Artaxerxes III. See *Ochus*
Artaxias, king of Armenia, X. 234. XII. 33
Artemidorus, magistrate of Syracuse, XI. 295
Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, joins Xerxes in his expedition against Greece: her courage at Salamis, XII. 221, 247
Artemisia reigns in Caria after the death of her husband Mausolus, to whose memory she pays great honor. She takes Rhodes and dies, VI. 286, 288
Artemisium, Northwest cape of Eubœa, where the Greeks defeated the Persians, III. 256
Artemon personates the dying Antiochus, IX. 66
B.b 2 Artemon

- Aitemon*, engineer, IV. 58
Arts and Sciences, II. 288.
 banished from Sparta by
 Lycurgus, III. 44. and
 placed at Athens by Solon,
 53
Artoxares, conspires against
 Darius Nothus, and is put
 to death, IV. 151
Atypbius, son of Megabyssus,
 revolts against Ochus, he is
 suffocated in ashes, IV. 148
Arundel, Earl, his marble
 column, IX. 72
Arymbus, king of Epirus and
 Molossus, VII. 49 VIII. 96
Aza, king of Judah, defeats
 the army of Zera king of
 Ethiopia, I. 81
Azdrubal, Hamilcar's son in
 law, commands in Spain,
 and builds Cartagena : he
 is treacherously killed by a
 Gaul, L 21³, 216
Azdrubal Calvus, made pris-
 oner in Sardinia by the Ro-
 mans, I. 260
Azdrubal, Hannibal's brother,
 after being defeated in
 Spain I. 260. is sent to join
 his brother in Italy, he
 sets forward, is defeated,
 and slain, 264
Azdrubal, son of Gisgo, de-
 feated in Spain, I. 263
Azdrubal Hædus, is sent to
 Rome to demand peace,
 L 276
- Azdrubal*, Matinissa's grandson,
 commands in Carthage,
 during the siege by Scipio :
 another Azdrubal causes
 him to be put to death,
 II. 11, 16
Azdrubal, the general who
 killed the other ; his cru-
 elty to the Roman prison-
 ers, II. 16. after taking
 the city, he retires to the
 temple of Æsculapius, but
 surrenders to Scipio : tra-
 gical end of his wife and
 children, 20
Azbes, smothering therein a
 punishment among the Per-
 sians, IV. 148
Azia, its description, II. 51.
 the fountain of sciences,
 289
Azmonean family, X. 225
Azmonean race : their reign
 in Judea, XI. 241
Apsasia, celebrated courtesan,
 IV. 58. for her great know-
 ledge she is ranked amongst
 the sophists, 68
Apic, viper, whose bite is
 mortal, bat slow, XII. 165
Apis, governor for Artaxer-
 xes in Cappadocia revolts,
 but is taken prisoner, V.
 128
Apis, city of Pontus, XII.
 110
ApPENDUS, a city in Pamphy-
 lia, XI. 188
Aba-

- Affuerus*, name given in Scripture to Astyages, as also to Cambyses and Darius.
- Affur*, son of Shem, gave his name to Assyria, II. 59
- Affyrian empire and kings*, II. 55. second empire, 81. subverted by Cyrus, 182
- Aster*, shoots out king Philip's right eye, and is hanged for his dexterity, VII. 24
- Astrology*, falsehood of that science. II. 297
- Astronomy*, nations who first applied themselves to it, I. 50. II. 295
- Astyages*, king of Media, called in Scripture Ahasuerus, II. 110, 129
- Azymedes*, deputed to Rome by the Rhodians, to appease the senate, XI. 54
- Athamania*, king thereof. See Amynander.
- Attheas*, king of Scythia, defeated by Philip, VII. 64
- Athenaeus*, general to Antigonus, is sent against the Nabathean Arabs, and is killed, VIII. 195
- Atheneus*, brother to king Eumenes, sent ambassador to Rome, X. 164
- Atheneus*, governor for Antiochus in Palestin, X. 224
- Atthens*, beginning of its kingdom, I. 75. kings there-
- of, III. 22. their magistracy and laws of Solon, 47. government, revenues and exercise of the Athenians both for body and mind, V. 214 to 242. their peculiar and common character, 258, to 268. their military history with Persians and Grecians, II. 223, to the end, and all the fourth Vol. Plague at Athens, IV. 109. besieged and taken by Lysander, 284. See the victories of Marathon, Salamis, Platea, Eurymedon and Arginusæ. Their losses at and after the battel of Delium, 153
- Athenian*, sent to Jerusalem for the arrears of tribute, IX. 78
- Athlets*, strong men, those who exercised boxing, wrestling, quoits, darting, running or jumping, VI. 7
- Atbos*, mountain in Macedonia, II. 175. 211. VII. 45
- Atessa*, daughter of Cyrene, wife to Cambyses first, and after to Smerdis the Magian, II. 243. she is last married to Darius; Democedes cures her of a cancer: she persuades Darius to send

- send him into Greece: he is named Vashti in Scripture, III. 126 to 137
- Atoffa*, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon, VI. 265
- Atropates*, one of Alexander's generals: province that was his lot, VII. 106.
- Media-Atropatena, so named from him, 138
- Atropatia*, the modern Georgia, IX. 165. the same with Media-Atropatena.
- Attalus I.* king of Pergamus, VIII. 92. IX. 75. war between him and Seleucus, his acts and great character, 157. X. 5, 6.
- Attalus II.* surnamed Philadelphus, persuades the Achaeans to revoke the decree against his brother Eu- menes, X. 295. he goes ambassador to Rome, XI. 50. and reigns in Cappadocia as guardian to his nephew, 71. war between him and Prusias, 72. death of Attalus, 166.
- Attalus III.* the younger, surnamed Philometor, goes to Rome, XI. 74. is king of Cappadocia after the death of his uncle, 166. he dies and makes the Roman people his heir, 168
- Attalus of Syracuse*, XII. 8
- Attalus*, Philip's lieutenant, marriage of his niece Cleopatra with Philip, VII. 83. Alexander causes him to be assassinated, 118
- Atrica*. See Athens.
- Atyadæ*, first kings of Lydia, II. 181
- Atys*, son of Croesus, unfortunately killed by Adrastus, II. 121
- Augury*, folly of that science, V. 283
- Aulis*, in Beotia, XI. 40
- Aura*, the name of Phidola's mare, VI. 28
- Autophradates*, governor of Lydia for Artaxerxes Mnemon in the war against Datames, he is defeated, V. 131. he joins in the revolt against Artaxerxes, VI. 264
- Axiochus*, Athenian, his defense of the generals condemned to die after the battel of Arginusæ, IV. 277
- Axithea*, wife to Nicocles king of Paphos, kills herself and children, VIII. 190.
- Azoth*, Azotus, or Ashdod, city, I. 87
- B.
- B A A L.** See Bel.
- Babel*, its Tower, II. 69
- Babylon*, foundation of the city, with its description and

INDEX.

xxv

- and kings, II. 63. taking *Baleares*, islands, I. 138
of that city by Cyrus, 192. *Barfina*, wife to Alexander,
by Darius, III. 138. by ^{and another to Eumenes,}
Alexander, VII. 230. his ^{again to} *VIII. 103, 107*
second entry, VIII. 39. *Bastarni*, Gauls of Sarmatia,
pillaged by Demetrius, 197 X. 257
Bacchidas, eunuch of Mi-
thridates, XII. 71, 72
Bacchides, general for Antio-
chus is defeated by Judas
Maccabeus, X. 240
Bacchis, his descendants rule
in Corinth, III. 15
Bacchis, governor of Meso-
potamia, is general for De-
metrius Soter when Judas
Maccabeus was killed, XI.
138, 139
Bacchus, his festivals, V. 274.
his cavalcade, VII. 280
Bacchylides, poet, IV. 81, 84
Bactria, province, II. 62
Bagoas, eunuch of Ochus,
commands in Egypt, VI.
295. he poisons Ochus,
and makes Arses king of
Persia, whom he also de-
stroys, and puts Darius
Codomanus on the throne
in his stead. 299. he falls
into the hands of Alexan-
der, VII. 259. and gains
the ascendant of him: by
his intrigues he causes Or-
sines to be put to death,
VIII. 25, 27
Eugorazus, eunuch, is mur-
dered, IV. 147
- Baleares*, islands, I. 138
Barfina, wife to Alexander,
by Darius, III. 138. by ^{and another to Eumenes,}
Alexander, VII. 230. his ^{again to} *VIII. 103, 107*
second entry, VIII. 39. *Bastarni*, Gauls of Sarmatia,
pillaged by Demetrius, 197 X. 257
Bazaria, province, VII. 291
Bel, adored by the Assyrians,
his temple, II. 69, 70. *VIII. 48*
Belis, or *Nabonassar*, II. 81
Belgus the Gaul, defeats Ce-
raunus, and is after defeat-
ed and killed, VIII. 302,
304
Belshazar, or *Balthazar*, king
of Babylon, called also
Labynit or Nabonid, II. 97
is besieged in Babylon by
Cyrus, 192
Belus, named Amenophis,
I. 70. and Nimrod, II. 57
Belus, temple, the Jews ab-
solutely refuse to help re-
build it, VI. 393
Beneventum, battel, IX. 27
Beotia, part of Greece, III. 4,
13. VI. 249
Berenice, wife to Ptolemy
Soter, and mother of Phi-
ladelphus, VIII. 256
Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy
Philadelphus, marries An-
tiochus Theos, IX. 55. he
parts with her, and Laodice
puts her to death, 65, 66
Berenice, a city on the West
side the Redsea, built by
Ptolemy

- Ptolemy Philadelphus, and so named in honor of this mother Berenice, IX. 51
- Berenice, daughter of Magas king of Cyrenia and Libya: she is intended for Demetrius, but he neglects her and marries her mother: in revenge she contrives to have him killed in his bed. She goes to Egypt and is the wife of Ptolemy Evergetes, IX. 52. for whose glory and safety she consecrates her hair, and dedicates it to the gods, 69. Her son Ptolemy Philopater puts her to death, 170
- Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Lathyrus. See Cleopatra.
- Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns in Egypt during her father's absence, XII. 120. She marries Seideucus Cybiosactes, and then puts him to death. She marries Archelaus, and Ptolemy puts her to death, 127, 128
- Berenice, wife of Mithridates, her unhappy fate, XII. 72
- Beroea in Macedonia, VIII. 262
- Berosus, historian, IX. 50
- Bessus, governor of Bactria betrays Darius, puts him in chains and murders him, VII. 245 to 248. He is seized and delivered to Alexander, who causes him to be executed, 286
- Betbia the consul is sent against Jugurtha, II. 40
- Bethsura in Judea, where Lysias was defeated by Judas Maccabeus, X. 240
- Betis, governor of Gaza, scandalously dragged to death by Alexander's order, VII. 203
- Bibius, Roman commander in Etolia, XI. 60
- Bibulus the consul, XI. 273
- Bisalta, region of Thrace, III. 230
- Bitbynia, province of Asia minor, its kings, VIII. 91
- Botchus, king of Mauritania, betrays Jugurtha to the Romans, II. 44
- Boges, governor of Eien burns himself and family, IV. 10
- Bolis, betrays Achæus, IX. 179
- Bomilcar, tyrant of Carthage put to death, I. 371
- Bomilcar, Carthaginian admiral, XII. 11, and general, I. 167
- Bosporus, Cimmerian, XII. 107
- Bostrar, Carthaginian commander in Sardinia, killed by the mercenaries, I. 218
- Bramans, Indian philosophers, VIII. 2 to 6
- Branchidae,

- Branchidae*, family of Milesius, cruelly massacred by Alexander the Great, VII. 275
Brafsidas, Lacedemonian general, his actions and death IV. 158, 153 to 162
Brennus, who took Rome, VIII. 304
Brennus, general of the Gauls, plunders the temple of Delphos, and kills himself, VIII. 306
Bridges made by Xerxes, II. 217
Bucephalus, Alexander's horse, VII. 107
Bucephale, town built to the horse's honor, VI. 109
Burial of the dead, I. 46. II. 310. of the Seythian kings, 144. Care of the antients to procure burial for the dead. IV. 272
Burning-glass of Archimedes, XII. 7
Busiris, king of Egypt, I. 66
Busiris, the tyrant, I. 75
Byblos, city in the ile Proso-pis, IV. 21. and in Phenicia, VII. 166
Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage, II. 15
Byzantium in Thrace, taken by the Greeks from the Persians, III. 283. it submits to the Athenians, IV. 256. besieged by Philip,
- VII. 59. war between the Byzantines and Rhodians, IX. 168
- C.
- Abira*, city of Asia, where Lucullus beat Mithridates, XII. 70
Cadiz, its antiquity, I. 141
Cadmea, citadel of Thebes, VI. 186
Cadmus, Phenician, brought the use of letters into Greece, I. 75. and founded Thebes, II. 13
Cadyzia, country Southwest of the Caspian sea, subjected by Cyrus, II. 158. and by Artaxerxes, V. 124
Cadytis, Jerusalem so called by Herodotus, I. 91
Cæsar, Julius, powerful at Rome, XII. 97, 98. he goes to Egypt in hopes of finding Pompey, 132. he gives the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra and Ptolemy, 142. he confirms the Jews in their privileges, gains a great victory over Pharnaces, and is killed soon after, 143, 144
Cæsar, Octavius, surnamed *Augustus*, joins with Antony and Lepidus, XII. 144. he quarrels with Antony, 158. and gains the victory at Actium, 167. his interview with Cleopatra, 171
Cæsario,

- Cæsario*, son of Cæsar and Cleopatra, XII. 142, 155
Caina, city of Pontus, taken by Pompey, XII. 110
Cairo, and its castle, I. 5
Calanus, bramin, dies voluntarily on a funeral pile, VIII. 6, 28
Callias of Athens, III. 264
Callicrates, Spartan, kills Epaminondas at Mantinea battel, VI. 244
Callicrates, Achean embassador to Rome, betrays the liberties of Greece, X. 157.
XI. 62
Callieratidas, Lacedemonian admiral, IV. 265. defeated at the Arginusæ, and killed, 270
Callimacus, Polemark of Athens, III. 186
Callimacus, governor of Amisus, defends that city against Lucullus, and then sets it on fire, XII. 73
Callistenes, philosopher, Alexander puts him to death, VII. 301, 303
Callippus, Athenian, kills Dion at Syracuse, and is soon after killed himself, VI. 159
Callixenes, orator, falsely accuses the Athenian generals, he is starved to death, IV. 273, 275
Calpe in Bithynia, V. 59
Calvinus, Cæsar's general in Asia minor, XII. 137
Cambyses I. father of Cyrus king of Persia, II. 127
Cambyses II. son of Cyrus, king of Persia, conquers Egypt, II. 233. his vain expedition in Lybia: he plunders the temple of Thebes, 233 to 240. he kills the god Apis; he puts his brother Smerdis to death; kills his wife Meroe, and with an arrow shoots the son of Prexaspes thro the heart, 233 to 240. he dies of a chance wound in the thigh, 244. his character, 321
Canaanites, origin, I. 65
Canidius, Antony's lieutenant, XII. 163
Cannæ, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, I. 249
Capbis, sent by Sylla to receive the treasures of Delphos, XII. 41
Caphyia, known for the defeat of Aratus, IX. 184
Capua, city possest by Hannibal, and retaken by the Romans, I. 256, 262
Cappadocia, in Asia minor, II. 53. kings of Cappadocia, VIII. 94. made a Roman province, XI. 279, 291
Cardacians, people of Little Asia, VII. 152
Cardia

- Cardia*, in the Chersonese, VII. 47
Caridemus, is banished Athens, and unjustly put to death by Darius, VII. 115, 142
Caria, province of Asiamenor, its kingdom, VI. 289. VII. 132. made free, I. 53. X. 304
Carmania in Persia, VIII. 22
Carneades, ambassador at Rome, XI. 75
Carræ, city in Mesopotamia, known for the defeat and death of Crassus, XI. 264 to 269
Carthage, its origin, government, religion and history, I. 104. extent of its empire, 142. its description and destruction, II. 15 to 24
Carthage and Corinth rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, II. 25
Cartagene in Spain, I. 215
Cassander, general of the Thracians to Alexander, VII. 122
Cassander, son of Antipater, provinces in his lot after Alexander's death, VIII. 106. he kills Demades and his son, 143. he takes Athens, 155. puts Olympias to death, 167. he reinstates the city of Thebes, 169. he puts to death the young king Alexander, with his mother Roxana, 198. he besieges Athens and is defeated near Thermopylæ, 242. after the battel of Ipsus, he divides the empire of Alexander with three other princes, 248. death of Cassander, 255
Cassander, Thracian, massacres the inhabitants of Mæronea by Philip's order, causes him to be poisoned, X. 141, 143
Caius Lucius Roman general, defeated by Mithridates, XII. 37
Caius Cælius, questor to Crassus in the Parthian war, and a party in killing Cæsar, XI. 253, 270. XII. 144. after the death of Crassus he commands in Syria, XI. 273
Cats and other animals adored by the Egyptians, I. 37. II. 234. XII. 129
Catana, in Sicily, seafight, VI. 95
Catapulta, machine of war, I. 153. II. 8. XII. 2
Cataracts of Nile, I. 14
Catbeans, subdued by Alexander, VIII. 2
Gato, M. Portius, surnamed the Censor, lieutenant to the consul Acilius: his valor at Thermopylæ, X. 69. he speaks for the Rhodians in

- in the senate, XI. 56. dislikes the Athenian ambassadors, 76. he is appointed to depose Ptolemy king of Cyprus, and seize all his treasure, 218. a wife answer of his, VIII. 211
- Cato**, son of the former, his valor at the battel of Pydna, XI. 29
- Cato of Utica**, VII. 3. XII. 120
- Cato Caius**, tribune, XII. 122
- Cecrops**, founder of Athens, III. 12
- Celense**, city in Phrygia, VII. 134
- Celestria**, extent of it, IX. 177
- Cenebre**, near Corinth, IX. 306, 311
- Cendebæus**, general of Antiochus Sidetes, is defeated in Jerusalem, XI. 161
- Cepio**, defeated by the Cimbri, XII. 82
- Censorinus**, consul, sent with orders to destroy Carthage: he is followed by Scipio, II. 5 to 22
- Cento**, Roman officer, defends Athens and plunders Chalcis, IX. 288
- Cerasus**, city of Cappadocia, noted for cherries, V. 57
- Cerebon**, scholar of Socrates, V. 144
- Ceres**, festival. See *Eleusis*.
- Ceribrius**, general of the Gauls marches into Thrace, VIII. 302
- Chabrias**, Athenian, his actions, death, and praise, VI. 256, 261, 275, 278
- Chalcedon** in Bithynia, IV. 255
- Chalcis**, capital of Eubea, III. 5. half ruined by the Romans, IX. 288
- Chakis**, capital of Chalcidice in Thrace, IV. 101, 109
- Chalcis** in Etolia, III. 4
- Chaldeans**, a note upon them, II. 143. the sect of Sabians formed of them, 306. their astronomy, VII. 231
- Cham**, or Ham, son of Noah, worshipped in Africa as Jupiter Ammon, I. 65
- Chares**, Athenian general, VI. 273 to 280. defeated at Cheronea by Philip, VII. 58, 74
- Chares**, of Lindus, makes the Rhodian Colossus, VIII. 236
- Charilaus**, made king of Sparta by Lycurgus, III. 22
- Charitimis**, Athenian general supports Inarus against the Persians, IV. 20
- Charon**, his boat, I. 46
- Charon**, Theban, takes Pelopidas and the conspirators into his house, VI. 193
- Charondas**,

- Charondas*, legislator of Thurium; he kills himself for breaking one of his own laws, IV. 93, 95
- Cbelonida*, wife of Cleombrotus, her praise, IX. 116
- Cbelidomida*, wife of Cleonimus, IX. 31 to 34
- Cheronea*, in Beotia, where Philip defeated the Athenians, and Sylla Mithridates, VII. 74, XII. 47. and where the Etolians beat the Beotians, IX. 89
- Cheroneje of Thrace*, III. 159
177, IV. 16, 56, V. 71.
VII. 47, 48
- Cheroneje of Syria*, VIII. 270
- Children, or Youth*, their education at Sparta, II. 28.
40, V. 198. at Athens, 296
- Cbilo*, one of the sages, III. 83
- Cbilo* attempts to be king of Sparta, IX. 196
- Cblos*, island, Philip defeated there at sea, IX. 279
- Cboaspes*, river in Persia, fine water, VII. 233
- Cboaspes*, Indian river, VII. 312
- Cborus*, mixt with tragedy, VI. 39
- Cicero*, his opinion of augurs, V. 284. he finds the tomb of Archimedes, XI. 17. his military exploits in Cilicia, and excellent letters thereon, 273. he refuses a Vol. XII.
- triumph and why, 275. by his credit he gets Pompey to be general against Mithridates, XII. 97. his advice to Lentulus, upon reinstating Ptolemy Auletes, 124. Cicero and Demosthenes compared, VIII. 122. Quotations from Cicero, V. 194, 269. XI. 211, 219. his noble example, 286. fine remark on his character, XII. 25, 113
- Cilicia*, province of Asia minor, II. 53
- Cilles*, Ptolemy's lieutenant is defeated and made prisoner by young Demetrius, VIII. 192
- Cimmerians*, II. 187, 114
XII. 107
- Cimon*, son of Miltiades, his courage at Salamis, II. 194, 250. commands the Greek fleet with Aristides, 283. and is made chief commander of the land forces, IV. 9. his several conquests and victories: his death and praise, 9 to 44
- Cineas*, Thessalian orator; his conversation with Pyrrhus, who sends him ambassador to Rome; his conduct there, and idea which he gives Pyrrhus of of the Roman senate, IX. 2 to 11

- Cinna and Carbo,* XII. 53
Cios, city of Bithynia, Philip's cruelty there, IX. 280
Cirrbean field, VII. 66
Citium in Cyprus, IV. 42
Claros, oracle of Apollo, V. 287
Claudius and Ænobarbus, commissioners sent from Rome to divide and corrupt the Acheans, XI. 63
Cleades excuses to Alexander the revolt of the Thebans, VII. 113
Clearcus commands the Greek troops for Cyrus at the battel of Cunaxa, V. 23 to 36. he is seized by treachery, and beheaded, 47. praise of Clearcus.
Cleobis and Biton, two faithful brothers of Argos, II. 117
Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, killed at the battel of Leuctra, VI. 209, 212
Cleombrotus, son in law to Leonidas, causes himself to be elected king of Sparta, but is dethroned by Leonidas, and banished, IX. 111 to 117
Cleomenes, king of Sparta, III. 167. to his death, 183
Cleomenes, governor of Egypt for Alexander, VIII. 44
Cleomenes II, king of Sparta, son of Leonidas, IX. 122. routs the Acheans at Dyne, 129. but is defeated at Selasia by Antigonus king of Macedon, 143 to 152. he retires into Egypt, but cannot obtain permission to return home: unfortunate death of Cleomenes, 186 to 191
Cleon, Athenian, IV. 105. he reduces the Lacedemonians in the island Sphacteria, 143. he marches against Brasidas, is surprised and killed by a soldier, 157, 159
Cleon, flatterer in Alexander's court, persuades the Persians to worship Alexander, VII. 300
Cleonnis, the Messenian general at Ithoma battel, III. 116
Cleonimus, disappointed of the crown of Sparta, retires to king Pyrrhus, IX. 30
Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, second wife to Philip king of Macedon, VII. 83, 111
Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, married to Alexander king of Epirus, VII. 85. and basely put to death by Antigonus, VIII. 200
Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great, wife to Ptolemy

INDEX.

xxxiii

Ptolemy Epiphanes, X. 46.
after her husband's death
she is declared regent, 162,
204

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes reconciles her two brothers, X. 216.
after the death of Philometor she marries Physcon XI. 148. who puts her away to marry one of her daughters by Philometor, 178. She goes to her daughter in Syria, 180

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, is married to Alexander Balus, XI, 144, 147. and again to Demetrius, who being prisoner in Parthia, she marries Antiochus Sidetes, 159. after his death she returns to Demetrius, and causes the gates of Ptolemais to be shut against him, 180, 181. she kills Seleucus her eldest son, and dies of poison, which she would have given her second son Grypus, 182, 184

Cleopatra, Philometor's daughter, second wife to Physcon, XI. 178. after whose death she reigns in Egypt with her son Lathyrus, 186. she makes her son Alexander king of Cyprus and Egypt, 188, 194. She

takes Selena from Lathyrus, and marries her to Grypus, 193, 197. Alexander puts her to death, 209

Cleopatra, Physcon's daughter, and first wife of Lathyrus, being divorced, she marries Antiochus of Cyzicium, XI. 186, 187. her sister Tryphena causes her to be murdered at the altar, 188

Cleopatra Berenice, daughter of Lathyrus, and wife to Alexander, grandson to Ptolemy Physcon; she is murdered by Alexander, XI. 203

Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes is deprived of the sovereignty, XII, 130. but Cæsar makes her queen of Egypt, jointly with her brother, whom she puts to death and reigas alone, 142, 144. After Cæsar's death she sides with Antony; entertains and diverts him, 145 to 155. the Romans declare war against her: she retires from the battel of Actium, and returns to Alexandria, her other actions and death, 155 to 175

Cleopatra, queen of Massaga, VII. 312

Cæs.

Cleopatra,

- Cleophas*, seditious orator at Athens, IV. 255
Clineas, Etolian deputy, speaks for the Romans, IX. 229
Clinias, of Sicyon, massacred by Abantidas, IX. 83
Clinias, of Coos, commands the Egyptians revolting against Ochus, and is killed in battel, VI. 295
Cyprea near Carthage, I. 188
Clitibenes, tyrant of Sicyon, III. 61
Clitibenes, of Athens, one of the Alcmeonides, III. 70
Clitomacus, philosopher, I. 126
Clius, saves the life of Alexander at the Granicus, VII. 127. who after gives him the government of Marcanda, but kills him the same day at a feast, 291, 294
Citus, the Macedonian admiral, VIII. 115
Clodius, Publius, is taken by pirates, he requests Ptolemy king of Cyprus to send him money for his ransom, in which being disappointed, he obtains an order from Rome to dispossess him of his kingdom, XI. 217
Clodius, Appius, sent by Lucullus to Tigranes to demand Mithridates, XII.
 73, 76. he causes a mutiny in the army, 92
Clodius, general of the Bastarni Gauls called in to aid Perseus, XI. 12
Cnidos, a city of Doris in Caria, where Conon defeated the Lacedemonian fleet, being the first wound of the Spartan power, V. 99, 115
Codrus, last king of Athens, III. 47
Coenus, one of Alexander's captains, his speech and death, VIII. 9, 12
Colobis, I. 72. XII. 107
Callofus of Rhodes, VIII. 236. fate thereof, IX. 153
Corana, in Pontus, and Capadoccia, XI. 287
Combat, remarkable, three hundred on a side, III. 313
Combats, of Greece. See *Athlets*.
Comedy, origin and progress, VI. 49
Comedian, not dishonorable in Greece, XI. 322
Commerce, its chief motive is avarice, and whose end is vanity, pride, and immorality, VII. 190
Commonalty, multitude, their character by Plato, IV. 276. by Livy, XI. 322. and also VIII. 150
Conon

INDEX.

XXXV

- Conon*, Athenian general XI.
322. goes to Cyprus after
the defeat at *Aegos*, IV.
272 to 282. Artaxerxes
makes him his admiral:
he defeats the Spartans near
Cnidos, and rebuilds the
walls of Athens, V. 100,
107. he is sent to *Tribasus*,
who imprisons him, 108. immunities granted
by the Athenians to his
children, VI. 314
- Conon*, mathematician, IX. 69
- Conquerors*, II. 228, and 103.
Character of Cyrus, Sene-
ca's observation, III. 210.
the Author's observation,
VII. 196, 305. Another,
VIII. 87, 241. X. 21
- Corcyra*, or Corfu, island III. 4.
taken by the Athenians,
VI. 203. its war with Co-
rinth, IV. 59
- Corinth*, its different forms of
government, III. 15. dis-
pute with Corcyra, which
begun the Peloponesian
war, IV. 59. Corinth
sends aid to the Syracusans
besieged by the Athenians,
201. makes a league a-
gainst Sparta, and is besieged
by Agefilaus, V. 95, 106.
sends Timoleon to the aid
of Syracuse, VI. 166. makes
Alexander free, VIII. 40.
- is regained from Antigonus,
IX. 90. insults the deputies
sent by Metellus, and is
destroyed by the Romans,
XI. 95
- Cornelia*, widow, rejects Phys-
con, XI. 132
- Cornelia*, Pompey's wife, sees
him killed, XII. 132
- Coronea*, where Agefilaus
fought the Thebans, V. 102
- Corvus*, war machine, I. 181
- Corycus*, or the Corycean
Cape, in the Chersonese,
east of Chiōs island, where
Livius the admiral beat
Polyxenides, X. 75
- Cotis*, commands the Alba-
nians, and is killed by
Pompey, XIII. 107
- Cossians*, in Media, VIII. 38
- Cotbon*, the harbor of Car-
thage, I. 16
- Cotta*, the consul, is defeated
by Mithridates at land and
sea, XII. 54. his cruelties
at Heraclea, 77
- Cotys*, king of Odryssa in
Thrace, declares for Per-
seus against the Romans,
X. 270. the latter return
his son without ransom,
XI. 49
- Courage* and conduct in war,
what it should be, III. 250
- Court politicians*, their gene-
ral principle, VI. 285.

C 3

Honors

- Honor and honesty the best policy according to Polybius, **II. 10**
- Craffus*. See *Licinius*.
- Craffus*, *Mucianus*, consul, defeated by Aristonicus, kills himself, **XI. 169**
- Craffus*, consul, marches against the Parthians: his son and he defeated, **XI. 247 to 257**. he is killed, **269**
- Craterus*, officer to Alexander, ruins Philotas by his discourse, **VII. 268**. provinces which come to his lot, **VIII. 105**. he is defeated by Eumenes, and slain, **135**
- Cratesiclea*, mother of Cleomenes, sent hostage into Egypt: generous sentiments of that princess, **IX. 137**
- Cratesipolis*, wife of Alexander, the son of Polypercon, corrects the insolence of the Sicyonians, who had killed her husband, and governs that city with wisdom, **VIII. 170**
- Cratinus*, Greek poet, **VI. 55**
- Crenidis*. See *Philippi*.
- Crospontes*, one of the chief Heraclidæ, **III. 17**
- Crete*, island, **III. 5**. laws instituted by Minos, **V. 204** refuses to join the Greeks attacked by Xerxes, **223**.
- recorded for great knaves and liars, **V. 213**
- Crimisus*, river, where Timoleon defeated the Carthaginians, **I. 160. VI. 178**
- Critias*, tyrant of Athens, causes Theramenes to be put to death, **V. 11**. he is killed fighting against Thrasybulus, **13**
- Crito*, Achean incendiary, is killed in battel, **XI. 90**, **93**
- Crito*, friend of Socrates, **V. 173**
- Croesus*, king of Lydia, his conquests and character, **II. 115**. deceived by the oracle at Delphos, he undertakes a war with Persia, **123**. he loses a battel against Cyrus, and another near Thymbria, **150, 165**. he is besieged in Sardis, and taken prisoner, but escapes death, **177**. the jesuitical turn of the oracle, **180**. on what occasion he dedicated a statue of gold to the woman who baked his bread, **V. 297**.
- Cromwell*, compared with Dionysius, **VI. 120**
- Crotone*, in greater Greece, founded by Mycellus, **IV. 17**
- Cresias*, of Cnidos, practices physic in Persia, **V. 72**
- Curus*,

- Cuma*, in Eolis, III. 249
Cunaxa, famous battel, V. 29
Cuthei, people, VII. 193
Gyanean and Chelidonian iles, IV. 42
Cyaxares I. king of Media, takes Nineveh, II. 106, to 110
Cyaxares II. called in Scripture Darius the Mede, king of Media, II. 111, 209. he marrys his daughter to Cyrus, 160. and goes with him to Babylon, 209
Cylon, of Athens, IV. 66
Cynegyrus, his tenacious fiercenes in a seafight, III. 189
Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus, disputes the prize in the Olympic games, and is proclaimed victor, V. 105. VI. 24
Cynocephale, hills in Thessaly, where the Romans defeated Philip, X. 8. noted also for the victory and death of Pelopidas, VI. 235
Cyprus, taken from the Persians by the Greeks, III. 283. that island revolts against Ochus, but submits, VI. 290, 294. horrible tragedy that passes there on the death of Nicocles, VIII. 190. Tis unjustly seized by the Romans, XII. 217
Cyrene, its foundation and dispute with Carthage, I. 137
Cyropedion, in Phrygia, where Lysimacus was killed in the battel with Seleucus, VIII. 298
Cyropolis, destroyed by Alexander, VII. 279
Cyrtia, on the Redsea, IV. 24
Cyrus the Great, son of Cambyses king of Persia. His intire history, II. from 127 to 232
Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, is made governor of all Asiamenor by his father, IV. 152. 278. on whose death he forms the design of killing his brother, V. 3. he secretly raises tropps and sets out from Sardis, but is slain by his brother in the battel of Cunaxa, 33. Elogy of Cyrus, 37
Cythera, island, south of Laconia, III. 3
Cyzicum, naval victory gained there by Alcibiades over the Spartans, IV. 253

D

- Dæmon*, or familiar spirit of Socrates, V. 140
Damis, a candidate for the kingdom of Messenia, after Euphaes, nom. III. 319

- Damocles*, his dangerous feast, VI. 118
- Damoeritus*, his vain answer to Quintius, X. 56. he is made prisoner at Heraclea, 72. he causes war to be declared against Sparta, XI. 89
- Damon* and *Pythias*: trial of their friendship, VI. 117
- Damophantes*, Eleian general, is killed by Philopæmen, IX. 233
- Danaus*, brother to Sesostris, gets the kingdom of Argos, I. 75, III. 11
- Dancing*, V. 236
- Dancingmasters*, VI. 2
- Daniel*, is carried captive to Babylon, he explains Nebuchadnezar's dreams, II. 90 to 97. his great credit with Cyrus, and other acts. 210
- Darics* of gold struck by Darius the Mede, II. 211, 272
- Darius*, Mede, or *Cyaxares*.
- Darius Oebus*, son of Hydaspes: he enters into the conspiracy, and kills Smerdis the Magian, II. 247. becomes king of Persia by an artifice of his groom, 249. he quits the name of Ochus for Darius, III. 125. he reduces Babylon after twenty months siege; 138. his barbarity to the three children of Oebasus, 155. Darius conquers India, and designs to seize Naxos, 163, 164. his expedition against Greece, 175. his army is defeated at Marathon, 184. he resolves to reduce Egypt and Greece: his death and elegy, 196, 197
- Darius*, the eldest son of Xerxes, is murdered by his brother Artaxerxes, III. 300
- Darius Notbus*, secures Sogdianus and puts him to death, IV. 148. he changes his name from Ochus to Darius, and orders his brother Arsites, who had revolted, to be smothered in ashes, 149. he reduces the Lydians, Egyptians and Medes, and appoints his younger son Cyrus governor of all Asia Minor, 150, 152. death of Darius, and his excellent words to his son who succeeded, V. 2
- Darius*, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, conspires against his father's life, and is put to death, VI. 266
- Darius Codomanus*, king of Persia, VI. 300. he is defeated at the Granicus, VII. 123. and after near the town of Issus, 157. he receives advice of his wife

- wife Statira's death : his solemn prayer upon being told how she was treated by Alexander, 212, 214. Darius proposes new conditions of peace which are not accepted, 218. he loses the famous battel of Arbela, 219 to 227. he is betrayed by Nabarzanes and Bessus; bound in chains and murdered. His dying words, 245, 249
- Darius*, king of Media, subdued by Pompey, XII. 108
- Datames*, governor of Leucosyria for Artaxerxes : he reduces Thyus who had revolted, V. 127. he is assassinated by order of Artaxerxes, 132. See VI. 264
- Debts*, Egyptian laws relating thereto, I. 33
- Decelia*, in Attica, IV. 201, 215
- Deidamia*, sister to Pyrrhus, and wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes, VIII. 243
- Dejoces*, unanimously chosen king of Media : he builds Ecbatana, II. 100, 103
- Dejotarus*, king of Galatia : Pompey gives him little Armenia, XII. 143. his repartee to Crassus, XI. 248
- Delium*, in Beotia. Atheneans beat by the Thebans, IV. 155
- Delos*, island, III. 292. yearly sacrifice there, V. 173.
- Archelaus regains it for the Athenians, XII. 40
- Delphi*, or Delphos in Phœcia, famous for Apollo's oracle, V. 288. the temple burnt and rebuilt, 296. plundered by the Gauls, VIII. 305
- Delta*, or lower Egypt, I. 23
- Demades*, taken prisoner at the battel of Cheronea, VII. 75. Ambassador to Alexander from the Athenians, 115. he prepares the decree for the death of Demosthenes, VIII. 117. killed with his son Cassander, 143
- Demaratus*, king of Sparta, expelled by Cleomenes, III. 183. his noble answer to Xerxes, 222. his odd request of Artaxerxes, IV. 7
- Demetrias*, a city of the Magnesians in Thessaly, X. 53
- Demetrius Poliorcetes*, flies from Athens but returns, VIII. 147, 155. three hundred and sixty statues are erected to him out of gratitude, 204. he retires to Thebes after the taking of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes,

- tes, 205. his statues are thrown down, and he condemned to die, 209, and III. 193. he takes refuge in Egypt, 210. where he is made master of the king's library, 277. his death and character, 292.
- Demetrius, son of Antigonus,** surnamed Poliorcetes, his character, VIII. 187, 219. he loses a battel at Gaza against Ptolemy, and gains one soon after against Cilles Ptolemy's lieutenant, 190, 192. he recovers Athens and restores the Democracy, 205. excessive gratitude of the Athenians, 207. his victory at Salamis in Cyprus, 213. his generosity to Ptolemy, 215. he forms the siege of Rhodes, 219. makes Cassander raise the siege of Athens, 242. he is declared general of the Greeks, but is defeated at the battel of Ipsus, 247. the Athenians shut their gates against him, but he takes the city and pardons them, 252, 257. he beats the Lacedemonians in a great battel at Mantinea, 258. he loses all his dominions in Asia, but by killing Alexander is proclaimed king of Macedonia, 260. which after seven years being forced to quit, he surrenders to Seleucus, and dies his prisoner, 270.
- Demetrius, brother of Antigonus Gonatas,** is murdered in Apamia's bed, IX. 53.
- Demetrius, son and successor to Antigonus Gonatas in Macedonia:** he subdues all Lybia, IX. 73. his death, 80.
- Demetrius of Pharos, king of Illyria,** IX. 97.
- Demetrius, younger son of Philip,** is sent hostage to Rome, X. 18. the Romans send him back, 74. Perseus plots against his brother Demetrius, and at length procures his death, 169 to 193.
- Demetrius Soter,** after having been long hostage at Rome, demands in vain permission to return, XI. 126. he flies from Rome, and ascends the throne of Syria, 136. he makes war upon the Jews, and places Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia, 140 and 71. soon after which he dies in battel, 144.
- Demetrius Nicator,** son of Soter, claims the crown of Syria,

- Syria, and drives out Alexander the usurper, XI. 147.
excesses of Demetrius, 151.
he is driven out of Syria, and taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, 157. He tries in vain to recover his dominions, and is defeated and slain in a battel near Damascus, 180
- Demetrius Euchares*, son of Grypus, is made king of Syria, XI. 200
- Democedes*, physician of Crotona, III. 130 to 135
- Democbares*, the murderer of king Agis, IX. 119
- Democles*, the modest handsome youth, destroys himself, VIII. 243
- Demosthenes*, Athenian commander, surrenders at discretion to the Syracusans, who put him to death, IV. 219 to 237
- Demosthenes*, the orator, his life and speeches, VI. 282. 3d, 6th, and 7th Sections. he animates the Athenians against Philip : his orations called Philippic, and others, VII. 28 to 69. he flies at the battel of Cheronaea, 75. is accused by Æschines, 80. his immoderate joy for Philip's death, 87. he animates the people against Alexander, 111. he is corrupted by Harpalus, and banished, VIII. 33. he is recalled to Athens, 111. but forced to leave it, and is condemned to die, 117. he puts an end to his life by poison, 121. compared with Cicero, 122
- Dercyllidas*, Lacedemonian general, V. 68 to 73
- Deucalion*, his flood, III. 16
- Deucelius*, Sicilian prince, his story, IV. 87
- Diceus*, Achean incendiary, his tragical end, XI. 90, 95
- Diagoras*, condemned for teaching atheism, IV. 192
- Dialects*, four greek, III. 18
- Diana Orthia*, her sacrifice, III. 30
- Dicearcus*, admiral to Philip, X. 28
- Dicearcus*, Eolian general, X. 44
- Didas*, betrays and poisons young Demetrius, X. 191
- Dido*, her history, I. 133
- Dinocrates*, surveyor for building the temple of Diana at Ephesus, VII. 129, IX. 61
- Diodorus*, Athenian, saves the Mytilenians from being put to death, IV. 131
- Diogenes the Cynic*, refuses to learn

- learn the mysteries of Eleusis, V. 279. he receives a visit from Alexander, VII. 117
- Diogenes*, Stoic philosopher, sent on an embassy from Athens to Rome, XI. 75
- Diomedon*, Athenian general, condemned to die for leaving unburied those who were slain at Arginusae: his speech before his death, IV. 272, 275
- Dion* of Syracuse, his character and friendship with Plato, VI. 91. his generosity to Dionysius the younger, who incourages a false accusation and uses him ill, 120 to 236. Dion makes war upon Dionysius and defeats him, 143. ingratitudo of Syracuse, 144. Dion's other acts, untimely end and character, 145 to 158
- Dion*, philosopher, XII. 122
- Dionysius*, the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, XII. 122. his history, death and character, VI. 72
- Dionysius* the younger succeeds his father, his history, VI. 119
- Dipilites*, chief of the colony sent by the Athenians into the Chersonese: he invades the lands of king Philip, and is defended by Demosthenes, VII. 47
- Dium* in Macedonia, X. 301
- Dodona*, Oracle, V. 286
- Dog*, his noted fidelity, III. 241
- Dolopia*, small region of Thessaly, near Epirus, X. 259
- Dolphins* of lead, machines of war, IV. 220
- Don*, city in Thrace, III. 218
- Doris*, in antient Greece, its origin. Part of the Dorians settle in Caria in Little Asia, called Doris from
- Dorus*, second son of Hellenus, III. 16, 18
- Dorylaus*, general to Mithridates, routed by Sylla, XII. 50
- Draco*, of Athens, his laws are annulled by Solon, III. 48
- Drepanum* in Sicily, great defeat of the Roman fleet by Adherbal, I. 196
- Dromedary*, swift animal, VIII. 177
- Drypetis*, Hephestion's widow, is destroyed by Roxana, VIII. 108
- Duilius*, consul, commands the first fleet fitted out by the Romans, and is the first who triumphed for a victory at sea, I. 181
- Dyme*, battle in Achaia, IX. 129
- Dymus*

INDEX.

xiii

- Dymus plots against Alexander, and kills himself, VII. 265
- Dyrrachium. See Epidamnus.
- E.**
- Ecbatana capital of Media, its foundation and description, II. 103, IX. 269
- Ecbatana, in Persia, II. 224
- Echinades, islands where Etion the Athenian admiral was defeated by Clitus, VIII. 115
- Ecnoma, in Sicily, where the Roman fleet beat the Carthaginian, I. 182
- Edomites, or Edomeans turn Jews, XI. 222
- Ega in Macedonia, VII. 85
- Ega and Egium, cities where the Achean assembly was held, X. 62, 113, XI. 90
- Eggs, how they are hatched in Egypt, I. 53
- Egypt, divided into three parts, upper Egypt or Thebais, middle Egypt or Heliopolis, lower Egypt or Delta, I. 2. fertility of Egypt, 56. famine there, 60. list of its kings till Ptolemy Lagus, 63. subjected by the Persians, II. 235. and afterward by the Macedonians, VII. 206
- Egyptians, their manners and customs, government, re-
- VOL. XII.
- ligion, arts and sciences, I. 28 to 56
- Egina, or Egades, islands on the west of Sicily, where Lutatius the consul beat the fleet commanded by Hanno, I. 198
- Eion, city of Thrace, taken by Cimon, its fate, IV. 10
- Elatea, in Phocis, VII. 68. XII. 46
- Elaea, part of Elis, X. 79
- Eleazar, highpriest, VIII. 261
- Eleazar, martyr, X. 227
- Eleazar, son of Matathias, sacrifices himself in battle for the people, XI. 128
- Eleazar, Pharisee, accuses Hyrcanus falsely, XI. 191
- Elephants, their description, and manner of taking them VII. 309
- Elenis, city and temple in Attica, famous for its mysteries, V. 276
- Elis, or Elidia province, famous for the Olympic games, I. 93, III. 14, V. 73, VI. 3
- Elis, city, and battle, IX. 194, 195, 233
- Elsa. See Dido.
- Eliza, son of Javan, settles in Peloponnesus, III. 7
- Eloquence, its definition, IV. 50. the principal study at Athens and Rome, V. 242
- D d
- Elos,

- Elos*, city near Sparta, whence came the Elotæ. III. 11
- Elymæs*, province and city. X. 123, 241
- Elymæi*, people. IV. 176
- Emmaus*, near Jerusalem, where Ptolemy Macron was routed by Judas Maccabeus. X. 236
- Eolis*, or *Æolis*.
- Empedocles*. VI. 26
- Emporia*, region lying about the Little Syrtis in Africa. I. 298, 302
- Epamimondas*, Theban, his character and conduct in Thebes, VI. 190, VII. 5. he gains a great victory over the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, 210. but is slain by Callicrates in the battel of Mantinea, 245. his praise, 246
- Ephesus*, city of Ionia, its temple. III. 5. VII. 99
- Ephori* of Sparta. Their institution, III. 24. and authority, V. 77, 196
- Epicurus*, his generosity and compassion to the Athenians in Sicily. VI. 313
- Epycides*, Athenian, his little courage and great avarice, III. 225.
- Epycides*, magistrate at Syracuse, XII. 1 to 13
- Epicarmus*, poet. IV. 81
- Epochs of history*. III. 109
- Epidamus*, city, IV. 59
- Epidaurus* in Laconia, XI. 41, XII. 41
- Epigenes*, betrayed and put to death, IX. 163
- Epigenes*, new soldiers so called. VIII. 33
- Epimenides*, poet of Crete, V. 297
- Epirus*, its description and kings, VII. 95
- Equality*, the basis of liberty, V. 205, 209
- Erasistratus*, physician discovers the cause of Antiochus's distemper, VIII. 296
- Eratosthenes*, historian, I. 63
- Eratosthenes*, librarian at Alexandria. IX. 76
- Eretria*, in Eubea, III. 170
- Erginus*, betrays the citadel of Corinth. IX. 90
- Erostratus*, burns down the temple of Diana at Ephesus, and his reason why, VII. 100
- Eryx* in Sicily, famous for the temple of Venus, and Hamilcar distressing the consul Junius. I. 197
- Esarhaddon*, king of Assyria, takes Babylon and Samaria, and carries away Manasseh king of Judah. II. 86
- Esdras*, returns to Jerusalem, IV. 25. he disposes the holy Scriptures, 28.

Ethics

INDEX.

xlv

- Ebster* gets the edict against
the Jews revoked, II. 261,
III. 137
- Eteocles*, his wicked maxim
adapted by Cæsar, VI. 64
- Etiopia*, kings, I. 81
- Etolia*, part of Greece, III. 4
- Etritans*, war against the
Acheans and Philip, IX.
182. they join the Ro-
mans against Philip, and
disliking the peace that fol-
lowed between them 268.
they resolve to surprize
Demetrias, Chalcis, and
Sparta, X. 56. they call
in Antiochus against the
Romans, 59. they submit,
but obtain peace with
great difficulty, 112. are
cruelly used by the Ro-
mans, XI. 42, 60
- Evagoras*, king of Salamis,
his history and war with
Artaxerxes, V. 113. his
death and praise, 118, and
VI. 253
- Evagoras*, son of Nicocles,
king of Salamis, he is de-
throne: his tragical end,
VI. 290, 294
- Evalcus*, killed in battel by
Pyrrhus, IX. 37
- Evander*, sent by Perseus to
assassinate Eumenes, and is
afterward killed himself by
order of Perseus, X. 265,
286, XI. 33
- Eubea*, island of Greece, sub-
jected by the Athenians,
IV. 57. the Lacedemonians
seize it, 251. Antiochus
takes it, and soon after tis
taken from him by Acilius,
X. 65, 71
- Euchidas* of Platea, fetches
the sacred fire from Del-
phos, and dies immediately
at his return, being 125
miles in one day, III. 267
- Euclidas*, king of Sparta,
jointly with his brother,
routed at the battel of
Selasia, IX. 127, 143
- Euclid* of Megara, V. 147
- Eumenes*, general to Alexan-
der, provinces assigned him,
VIII. 106. he gets posses-
sion of Cappadocia: his
victory over Neoptolemus,
whom he kills in battel,
129 to 135. he is defeated
by Antigonus, to whom
he is betrayed and put to
death. *Elogy of Eumenes*,
178 to 183
- Eumenes I.* nephew to Phile-
teres, succeeds as king of
Pergamus, and gains a
great victory over Antio-
chus Soter, IX. 49. he
attacks Antiochus Hierax:
he abandons himself to ex-
cess which proves his death
74

- Eumenes II.*, succeeds his father Attalus in the kingdom of Pergamus, X. 6, 46. he is besieged by Seleucus, and delivered by the Romans, 79. his dispute with the Rhodians, 95. he offers to bribe the Achaeans, 133. His war with Prusias and Pharnaces, 154, 161. he escapes assassination and poison from Perseus, 265. he cannot obtain permission to enter Rome, XI. 69. death and praise of Eumenes; his famous library at Pergamus, 71.
- Eumolpides* and Ceryces, priests of Ceres, IV. 257, V. 278
- Eunomus*, king of Sparta, killed in a tumult, III. 112
- Eunuchs*, first introduced by Cyrus: their credit and power, II. 204, VI. 300
- Euphaes*, king of Messenia, is wounded in battel near Ithoma: he judges the prize of valor to Aristomenes, and dies of his wounds, III. 116
- Eupolis*, comic poet, VI. 55
- Eurypides*, tragic poet, VI. 42
- Eurybiades*, commander in chief of the Greeks, gains the victory of Salamis, III. 243. the Lacedemonians decree him the prize of valor, 251
- Eurydice*, widow of Amyntas, VII. 4
- Eurydice*, wife of Arideus, Olympias puts her to death, VIII. 165
- Eurydice*, widow of Ophellas, marries Demetrius, VIII. 202, 212
- Eurydice*, widow of Ptolemy Soter, VIII. 268
- Eurymedon*, Athenian general in Sicily is killed in battel, IV. 214, 227
- Eurymedon*, river in the gulf of Pamphylia: Greeks beat the Persians, IV. 14
- Eurystheus*, king of Mycene, appoints the labours of Hercules, III. 11
- Eurytibenes*, king of Sparta, with his brother Procles, III. 110
- Eurytion* or *Eurypon*, king of Sparta, III. 112
- Eusebes*. See Antiochus.
- Euthydemus*, king of Bactria, IX. 272
- Exenetus*, of Agrigentum, victor in the Olympic games, his fine triumph, VI. 73
- Exiles*, or citizens expelled by Nabis from Sparta, IX. 266. they return under Philopæmen, and behave cruelly, X. 113, 115. See 155 to 161
- Fabius*

INDEX.

xvii

F.

Fabius Maximus, dictator,
his conduct with Hannibal and Minucius, I. 244

Fabius Maximus, son of Paulus Aemilius, XI. 20

Fabius, beat by Mithridates, XII. 93

Fables: the inventors of them and their use, III. 90

Fabricius, envoy from Rome to Pyrrhus, in a battel with him is worsted, IX. 12, 21

Festivals at Athens, V. 271

Fimbria, Roman commander, defeats Mithridates, XII. 51, he kills Flaccus and seizes that consul's army, but being left by his troops, he kills himself, 55, 57

Flaccus the consul, killed by Fimbria, XII. 50, 57

Flaminius, consul, defeated and killed by Hannibal, XII. 241

Flaminius Quintius, sent to Prusias about Hannibal, I. 291. being Proconsul he defeats Philip at the hills of Cynocephale near Scotussa, X. 8, 13. which ends in a happy peace, 17. he celebrates the Isthmian games, besieges and overcomes Nabis, and enters Rome in triumph, 34, 41

Fleet. See Naval Force.

Flax, in Egypt, I. 57

Fraud, worse than Violence, IV. 155

Fulvia, Antony's wife, XII. 149

Fulvius, consul, subdues the Etolians, X. 113

Funerals, in Egypt, I. 44. at Athens, IV. 107

Future state, IV. 272

G.

Gabinius, Pompey's lieutenant in Syria, restores Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, XII. 126

Galatia, or *Gallogrecia*, a province of Lesser Asia inhabited by the Gauls after their invading Greece, VIII. 308, X. 118

Galba, his fine saying, VIII. 144

Games, part of the antient religion, VI. 1 to 6. ladies admitted in the Olympic games, 24. honors and rewards, 25. Agesilaus his procession at the Pythian games, V. 104

Ganymede, Ptolemy's eunuch, supplants Achillas, and becomes prime minister of Egypt: his stratagems against Cæsar, XII. 138

Gaugamela, or Camelhouse, place in Assyria, near Arbela,

D d 3

- bela, III. 158, VII. 219,
 227
Gauls, dispute the passage of
 the Alps with Hannibal,
 I. 229. they invade Greece,
 and plunder the temple of
 Delphos, their character,
 VIII. 302, 305
Gaza, in Palestyn, taken by
 Alexander, VII. 203. its
 destruction by Alexander
 Janneus, XI. 225
Gedrosia, indian province,
 VII. 306
Gela, in Sicily, IV. 74
Gellias, of Agrigentum: his
 hospitality, VI. 73
Gelon, king of Syracuse: he
 defeats Hamilcar the Car-
 thaginian, I. 145. his
 reign and character, IV.
 74 to 80. See VI. 176
Gelon, son of Hiero, declares
 for the Carthaginians, but
 dyes, XI. 313
Genius, or Daemon, III. 74
Gentius, king of Illyria, X.
 268, 270. he makes an
 alliance with Perseus a-
 gainst the Romans, and
 imprisons their embassa-
 dors, XI. 9, 14. but is
 obliged to submit, and is
 sent to Rome with his fa-
 mily and court, 15
Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, is
 punished for his father's
 misfortune and banished,
 I. 146
Gisgo, Carthaginian, indea-
 vors to stop the revolt of
 the mercenaries, I. 204.
 Spendius their general puts
 him to death, 207
Glabrio, consul, XII. 94
Glaucias, king of Illyria,
 protects Pyrrhus, VIII. 255
Glauca, the young pretending
 Athenian, V. 149
Glory, wherein it should con-
 fist, VI. 4, 5. VIII. 67.
 IX. 265
Gobrias, Assyrian lord, puts
 himself under the protec-
 tion of Cyrus, II. 155. is
 at the taking of Babylon,
 194. and secures Smerdis
 the Magian, 247, III. 157
Gobrias, Persian general at
 Cunaxa battel, V. 29
God, answer of Simonides to
 the question what God
 was, IV. 82. one Great
 God acknowledg'd by So-
 crates, V. 153
Gods of the Egyptians, I. 37.
 of the Carthaginians, I. 105
Gold, its antient value, X. 113
Gordion, city in Phrygia, fa-
 mous for the chariot with
 the Gordian knot, VII. 134
Gorgias, rhetorician, IV. 174
Government, different kinds
 and models, II. 49. V. 193
 and models of the best
 Graecbus,

INDEX.

xlix

- Graecbus*, tribune, X. 232.
 XI. 70. distinguishes himself at the siege of Carthage, II. 22. he proposes a law concerning the will of Attalus, and is killed soon after, XI. 168
- Granicus*, river in Phrygia, Alexander's victory there, VII. 122, and that of Lucullus, XII. 66
- Gratitude*, principal virtue of the Egyptians, I. 34
- Great city*, by Carthage, I. 166
- Greece*, its geography, origin, first settlement, kings, government and language III. 1 to 93. grandeur, decay and ruin of Greece, XI. 102, made the Roman province of Achaia, 96, 108. See *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, for what relates to the wars of Greece with Macedonia and Persia.
- Greek history*, observations thereon, III. 98
- Greeks*, four thousand captives released by Alexander, VII. 240
- Grypus*, or aquilin nose. See *Antiochus*.
- Gyges* kills Candaules king of Lydia, and is king in his stead: what Plato says of his ring, II. 212
- Gyges*, put to death for poisoning Statira, V. 67
- Gylippus*, Lacedemonian, goes to the aid of Syracuse besieged by the Athenians, IV. 207. these last are forced to surrender at discretion, 232
- Gymnastic art*, VI. 7
- Gytbium*, in Laconia, taken by Nabis, X. 50, 51
- H.
- HAEMUS*, mountain, X. 191
- Haliartus*, city of Beotia, taken by Lucretius, and demolished, X. 276, 292
- Halicarnassus*, city, taken by Alexander, VII. 131
- Halyattes*, king of Lydia, II. 114
- Ham*, son of Noa, peoples Egypt and Lybia, VII. 207
- Hamilcar*, the Carthaginian general is defeated and slain by Gelon of Syracuse, I. 145, III. 211. IV. 75
- Hamilcar*, son of Gyscon, defeats Agathocles, I. 163. but is taken at the siege of Syracuse, and put to death, 171
- Hamilcar*, surnamed Barca, father of Hannibal, the great, his ability and conduct, I. 197, 206. he entirely defeats the mercenaries, 206 to 210. he subdues

INDEX.

- dues the most part of Spain, where he dies in battel: his great character, 215
- Hamilcar*, surnamed Rhodanus, goes to the camp of Alexander by order of Carthage; at his return he is basely put to death, I. 174
- Hanging gardens*, II. 68
- Hannibal*, son of Gisgo, sent commander into Sicily: his progress and cruelty: he dies there of the plague, I. 147
- Hannibal*, another of that name, commands the Carthaginian fleet, and is defeated by the consul Duilius, I. 181. he besieges the mercenaries in Tunis, falls into their hands and is crucified, 210
- Hannibal the Great*, son of Hamilcar Barca, his heroic actions and conduct, I. 214 to 292, where he is betrayed by Prusias, and poisons himself. See also X. 43, 49, 66, 154
- Hannibal*, envoy to Hieronymus, XI. 317
- Hanno*, citizen of Carthage, tries to seize the commonwealth, he is discovered and dies miserably, I. 162
- Hanno*, killed in battel against Agathocles, I. 168
- Hanno*, defeated near the Agates islands by the consul Lutatius, I. 168. he commands against the mercenaries, 205, 210
- Harmodius* and Aristogiton conspire against the tyrants of Athens: statues erected for them by the Athenians, III. 66, 68
- Harmusia*, island, VIII. 23
- Harpalus* corrupts Demosthenes with his presents, VIII. 33
- Hecatonpylos*, in Hyrcania, VII. 257
- Hegetorides*, his brave offer to save his fellow citizens, IV. 16
- Helena*, wife of Menelaus, carried away by Paris, III. 14. she is restored to her husband by Proteus king of Egypt, I. 77
- Helenus* accompanies his father Pyrrhus to the siege of Argos, IX. 38
- Helepolis*, war machine, VIII. 228
- Helicon*, mount, III. 4
- Helicon*, mathematician of Cyzicum, VI. 134
- Heliodorus*, goes to Jerusalem to plunder the temple, X. 193
- Heliopolis*, in Egypt, its temple dedicated to the sun, I. 23
- Heli-*

INDEX.

ii

- Hellenus*, son of Deucalion king of Thessaly, from whom the Greeks were named Ἑλλήνες, III. 16
- Hellespont*, strait between Europe and Asia, III. 216
- Helots*, their origin, III. 111
- Hemerodromi*, running footmen, IX. 289
- Hephaestion*, Alexander's favorite dies, VIII. 37. extraordinary honors done to his memory, 3541
- Heptanomis*, middle Egypt, I. 5
- Heraclea* in Bithynia, tyrants who governed there, VIII. 95. destroyed by Cotta, XII. 77
- Heraclea* in Thessaly, taken by Popilius, X. 302
- Heraclea* in Etolia, taken by Acilius, X. 71
- Heraclea*, wife of Zoippus, massacred with her children by the Syracusans, XI. 323
- Heraclides*, minister to king Seuthes of Thrace, V. 61
- Heraclides*, admiral of Syracuse; his envy of Dion, whom he is obliged to call in to defend Syracuse, VI. 144 to 151. Dion suffers him to be killed, 157
- Heraclides*, Philip's wicked minister, IX. 299
- Heraclides* of Byzantium, envoy from Antiochus to Scipio, X. 85
- Heraclides*, treasures of Babylon, is banished by Demetrius Soter; after which he causes an impostor to be made king of Syria, XI. 141
- Heraclides*, or Heraclidae, descendants from Hercules, succeed the Atyades in the kingdom of Lydia, III. 147, and regain the Peloponese, III. 11, 15, 16
- Herbeffus*, in Sicily, VI. 83
- Hercules*, son of Jupiter and Alcmena, III. 11
- Hercules*, son of Alexander, VIII. 107. put to death by Polyspercon, 199
- Hermias*, prime minister to Antiochus the Great, he destroys Epigenes, a most able general, IX. 158, 163. Antiochus gets him destroyed, 166
- Hermocrates*, Syracusan general, IV. 200, 204
- Hermolaus*, conspires against Alexander, and is executed, VII. 303
- Herod*, made governor of Galilee and king of Judea, XI. 238, 240
- Herodicus*, put to death by Philip, X. 167
- Herodotus*, Greek historian, his birth, III. 202. applaudes upon reading his history at the Olympic games, VI. 32. he and Xenophon

- Xenophon differ as to Cy-
rus, his friend II. 230
Herodotus, friend to young
Demetrius dies on the sack,
X. 192
Heros, their first history,
H. 13. general character
of heroes, 228. VIII. 67
Hesiod, poet, III. 74
Hezekiah, king of Judah,
II. 83, 84
Hempsal, prince of Numidia,
Jugurtha causes him to be
murdered, H. 35, 37
Hirax, prime minister to
Phrycon, sq. XI. 162
Hieroglyphics in Egypt, I. 6
Hiero I. brother of Gelon,
reigns after him at Syra-
cuse, IV. 80
Hiero II. while a child he is
nourished by bees, then cho-
sen captain general and
king of Syracuse, his hi-
story, XI. 294 to 314
Mironymus, Hiero's grandson,
king of Syracuse, he is
killed in a conspiracy, XI.
314, 318
Himeria in Sicily : its foun-
dation, IV. 177. a most
complete victory there, I.
145. IV. 75. its destruc-
tion, I. 148. Agathocles
defeated there, 163
Mimico, Carthaginian gene-
ral in Sicily, dies there,
XII. 11
- Hippacra*, deity in Africa,
sq. I. 205, 208
Hipparchus reigns two years
at Syracuse, VII. 160
Hippocrates, son of Phis-
tratus, he is killed in the
street at Athens, III. 86
Hippias, son of Phisistratus,
succeeds his father, III. 165.
he serves the Persians
against the Greeks as a
guide, 183. and is killed
at Marathon, 189
Hippocrates, physician, III.
293, IV. 109, 218
Hippocrates, principal magi-
strate of Syracuse and ge-
neral against Marcellus,
XII. 1, 7. plague destroys
him and his troops, 18
Hippobulus, deputy in Sam-
aria for Antiochus the
Great, IX. 273
Hipponax, poet, III. 77
History, its importance and
use ; the best study for
princes, III. 98. VII. 106
Holofernes and Judith, II. 106
Holofernes, supposed brother
of Ariarathes king of Cap-
padocia, dethrones him and
reigns in his stead, XI. 71.
140. 281 to 283
Homer, poet, III. 71
Horse and groom of Darius,
III. 126
Hosea, king of Samaria re-
volts, and is made pri-
soner

INDEX.

lvi

- Sonner for life by Salmana-
zar, II. 82
- Humanity to brutes*, V. 221,
224
- Hunting*, old exercise, V. 240
- Hyacinthus*, his festival at
Sparta, III. 257
- Hybla*, honey, IV. 176
- Hydaspe*, river, where Porus
was defeated, VII. 316
- Hydriotes*, river, VIII. 12
- Hymereus* and *Hyperides* put to
death by Antipater, VIII.
120
- Hypbasus*, river. See *Pengab*.
- Hyperbolus*, Athenian, his
vile character, IV. 171
- Hypsicratia*, masculin-wife of
Mithridates, XII. 162
- Hyrcanus*, son of Joseph, X.
130. a pleasant story of
him, III.
- Hyrcanus*, *John*, son of Si-
mon, highpriest and prince
of the Jews, XI. from
171 to 193
- Hyrcanus II*, son of Alexan-
der Janneus, highpriest and
prince of the Jews, XI.
228. he being deposed by
his younger brother, he has
recourse to Pompey, who
replaces him on the throne,
237. he is seized by Paco-
rus, and delivered to Anti-
gonus, who causes his ears
to be cut off, and Herod
puts him to death, 239
- Hyrcania*, subjected by Cy-
rus, II. 151. and by Alex-
ander, VII. 259
- Hyspas*, father of Darius,
III. 246, 249
- Hyspas*, second son of Xer-
xes, made governor of
Bactria; his distance from
court causes his brother
Artaxerxes to ascend the
throne, III. 276, 300
- Hysiae*, tyrant of Miletus;
his history, death and char-
acter, III. from 159 to
174
- Iacbus*. See *Bacchus*
- Jaddus*, high priest of the
Jews meets Alexander,
VII. 194
- Laisus*, founder of Rhodes,
his famous picture, VIII.
237
- Jason*, tyrant of Pheræ, is
murdered, VI. 227
- Jason*, with money supplants
his brother Onias, high-
priest, X. 204. he is sup-
planted himself by his bro-
ther Menelaus, 207. he takes
Jerusalem, and expels
Menelaus, XI. 211
- Javan* or *Ion*, son of Japhet,
father of all the Greek
nations, III. 7

Javelin,

INDEX.

- Javelin, exercise, VI. 15.
Iaxartes, river, VII. 277, 279.
Iberians, of Asia, subjected by Pompey, XII. 107.
Icetas, tyrant of the Leonines, causes the wife, sister, and son of Dion to be destroyed, VI. 159, 163, 173. Timoleon puts him and his son to death, 179.
Idiocracy. See Religion.
Idumeans. See Edomeans.
Jebonias, or *Jeboiakim*, king of Judah, captive at Babylon, II. 91. released by Merodac, 96.
Jehoaz, king of Judah, captive in Egypt, where he dies, I. 91.
Jehoiakim, restored king of Judea in the room of his brother Jehoaz, I. 91. he is conquered by Nebuchadnezar, II. 89. his revolt and death, 91.
Jerusalem, taken by Necho, I. 91. besieged by Sennacherib, II. 85. taken by Nebuchadnezar, and its fortifications demolished, 89, 92. rebuilt by order of Artaxerxes, IV. 27. Alexander enters Jerusalem, VII. 196. it is besieged and taken by Ptolemy, VIII. 141. taken and plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes, X. 211. taken by Antiochus Sidetes and its fortifications demolished, XI. 172. Pompey takes Jerusalem by storm, 235. Cæsar permits the walls to be rebuilt, 238. Herod takes Jerusalem, 241. the temple plundered by Crassus, 237 and 248. Jesus Christ, his kingdom foretold by Daniel, II. 216. his kingdom not of this world, 218.
Jews, aversion for the Samaritans, II. 87. long captivity of the Jews at Babylon, 89. Cyrus's edict for their return to Jerusalem, 212. the Samaritans oppose it, but Darius confirms the edict, 213, 245. III. 135, 136. and revokes his own edict at the solicitation of Esther, II. 261. the Jews are confirmed in their privileges by Xerxes, III. 202. and afterward by Artaxerxes, IV. 25. Ochus carrys many of them into Egypt, VI. 294. they deny submission to Alexander, VII. 192, 194. but obtain great privileges from him, 202. they refuse to work at building the temple of Belus, VII. 47. many Jews settle at Alexandria, 195. all that were slaves

INDEX.

lvi

- slaves in Egypt are set at liberty, 310. the Jews submit to Antiochus the Great, and many of them settle in Asiamenor, IX. 302. cruelties which they suffer from Antiochus Epiphanes, X. 211, 225. they gain great victories under Judas Maccabeus, over the generals of that prince, those of Antiochus Eupator, and him in person, 233 to 241. XI. 125 to 128. they defeat the generals of Demetrius Soter, and are declared friends and allies of the Romans, 138. they build a temple in Egypt, 144. they revenge themselves at Antioch, 152. they renew their treaties with Rome, 155, 161. they are subjected by Antiochus Sideotes, 172. History of the Jews under Aristobulus, Alexander Janneus, Alexandra, Aristobulus II. Hyrcanus and Antigonus, till the sceptre of the Jews goes to a stranger, namely Herod, 221 to 241.
- Illustrious men in arts and sciences,* III. 71
- Illyria, principality,* IX. 97
- Imbalming,* how performed by the Egyptians, I. 44
- Imilcon,* son of Hanno, lieutenant to Hannibal in Sicily, takes Agrigentum, and makes peace with Dionysius, I. 148, 151. upon the breach of peace by Dionysius, he returns to Sicily : the plague spreads in his army, and he is defeated by Dionysius : he leaves his troops to the mercy of the enemy, retires to Carthage, and kills himself, 153 to 156. See VI. 93 to 102
- Immortality of the Soul:* discourse of Socrates before his death with Plato and others, V. 177 to 182
- Immortals,* Persian guard so called, II. 275
- Inarus,* prince of Lybia, supports the Egyptians, but is forced to surrender to Artaxerxes, who unjustly suffers him to be put to death, IV. 20, 23
- Indarbyrus,* king of Scythia, attacked by Darius : his answer to earth and water, III. 155
- India,* part of Asia ; description of it, I. 25. II. 72. III. 163. VII. 306
- Intaphernes,* his story, III. 128
- Ion,* and Ionians, III. 16, 17

- Ian*, treacherously delivers the children of Perses to Octavius, XI. 34
- Jonathan* succeeds his brother Judas, XI. 139. is made highpriest by Alexander Balus, whom he aids against Demetrius Soter 143. he obliges the Greeks in garrison to quit Jerusalem, and greatly serves Demetrius Nicator, 150, 152. being ill used by Nicator he declares for Antiochus Theos : he is deceived by Tryphon, who puts him to death, 154, 155
- Jonathan*, Sadducee, and friend of Hyrcanus, XI. 192
- Ionians*, revolt against Darius, III. 164, and burn Sardis, 170. after the battel of Mycale they unite with the Greeks, 273
- Joseph's* well at Cairo, I. 5
- Joseph* in Egypt, I. 68
- Joseph*, Onias's nephew : Ptolemy Evergetes gives him the farm of the revenues of Cœlesyria and Palestine, IX. 78, 79
- Josiah*, king of Judah marches against Necho, is defeated and slain, I. 90
- Ipbocrates*, Athenian, sent to aid Corcyra, VI. 204. he commands the Grecian troops for Artaxerxes against Egypt, 256. his ac-
- cusation at Athens; defense and character, 275, 279. he reinstates Perdiccas king of Macedonia, VII. 4
- Ipus*, in Phrygia, famous for the victory of Seleucus over Antigonus, VIII. 247
- Isadas*, intrepid young Spartan, VI. 241
- Ischolas*, Spartan, his desperate action, VI. 216
- Ismenius* of Thebes, seized by Leontides and put to death VI. 186 to 189
- Iocrates*, orator, his reflections on the state of Athens and Sparta, VI. 280. VII. 39. his death, 76
- Iocrates*, grammarian, sent prisoner to Rome for defending the murder of Octavius, XI. 140
- Israelites*. See *Jews*.
- Issus*, in Cilicia, noted for Darius's second defeat VII. 155
- Istrian* games, VI. 3. X. 19
- Ithoma*, in Messenia, noted for the battel between the Spartans and Messenians III. 116
- Iturea*, part of Cœlesyria, receives Judaism, XI. 222
- Juba*, king of Mauritania, kills himself, II. 45
- Juba*, son of Juba, is led in Caesar's triumph while an infant : Augustus restores his dominions : works of learning by him. II. 45
- Judas*

INDEX.

Ivii

- Judas, Maccabeus*, third son of Matathias, gains several battels from Antiochus Epiphanes, and recovers the sanctuary, X. 232 to 240. is victorious over Antiochus Eupator, XI. 125 to 128. and Demetrius Soter, 138. but being greatly overpowered he rashly dies in battel, 139
- Jugurtha*, Massinissa's gran-
son, his actions and mis-
erable end, II. 34 to 45
- Junius*, consul, beat at sea by the Carthaginians, I. 197
- Jupiter Ammon*, his temple, VII. 207 to 211, II. 236
- Justice*, its praise, III. 297
- Juventus*, killed in a battel against Andriacus, XI. 86
- K.**
- Kréas*, deputy with Hippo-
polochus.
- King*, its original design, II.
100, 102, 250
- Kingly office*, a fine family, I. 11. Preface. Gelon's character, II. 76 to 78. elogy of Cyrus, 222. Xenophon's king, IV. 82. See *Diönysius*, VI. 87. Nicocles, king of Salamis, 253. Philip, father of Alexander VII. 87 to 97. Alexander, 121. VIII. 74. Pyrrhus, IX. 13. Ptolemy Phila-
delphus, IX. 62. See *VIII.*
264, and XII. 29. Minos, king of Crete, a perfect model, V. 207
- L.**
- LABYNIT*. See *Bd.*
bazzar.
- Labyrinth* in Egypt, I. 10
- Lacratidas* of Sparta, V. 106
- Lacedemon*, or *Sparta*, capital city of Laconia in Greece, its kings, III. 14. govern-
ment, 21 to 47. Spartan or Lacedemonian history,
10 to 14. continued thro
the reigns of Darius I. and Xerxes I. to the end of
3d Vol. also the whole 4th
Vol. Earthquake at Spar-
ta: insurrection of the
Helots: quarrels between
Athens and Sparta, IV. 37
to the end. Prosperity of
Sparta, and its decline,
VI. 190 to the end. Con-
dition of Sparta under king
Agis, Cleomenes, and An-
tigonus Doson, IX. 102 to
155. under the tyrants
Macanidas and Nabis, 258.
to 268. under Philopæmen,
X. 50 to 60
- Lacedemonians*, cruelly treat-
ed by Philopæmen and the
exiles, X. 113 to 117. Acheans make war on the
Lacedemonians, but are
subdued by the Romans,
and

- and Corinth intirely destroyed : from which time all Greece becomes a Roman province by the name of Achaja, XI. 88 to 96
- Lachares*, takes Pelusium, VI. 296
- Laconia*, Southeast part of Peloponese, III. 4
- Lade*, island, seafight, IH. 173
- Ladies*, their industry and decorum, VII. 236
- Lais*, the courtesan, said to be the daughter of Amandra, mistress to Alcibiades, V. 8, and IV. 194
- Lamachus*, despis'd by his troops for his poverty : he is killed at the siege of Syracuse, IV. 190, 193, 206
- Lamia*, courtesan to Demetrius, VIII. 244
- Lamia*, in Thessaly, where the Athenians defeated Antipater, VIII. 133. and Pyrrias was twice beat by Philip, IX. 231
- Lanassa*, second wife of Pyrrhus, I. 175
- Laodice* is divorced by Antiochus Theos, IX. 55. he takes her again : she causes him to be poisoned, and his son to be declared king : she causes Berenice and her son to be murdered, 6., 66
- Ptolemy puts her to death, 68
- Laodice*, daughter of Mithridates, and wife to Antiochus the Great, IX. 160
- Laodice*, daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, XL 142
- Laodice*, sister of Demetrius Soter, and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia, is put to death by Ammonius, XI. 146
- Laodice*, widow of Ariarathes VI. governs during the minority of six princes her children ; she poisons five of them, and prepares to kill the other, but is destroyed by the people, XI. 170, 284
- Laodice*, sister of Mithridates Eupator, widow of Ariarathes VII. and wife to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, her fraud at Rome, XI. 284, 285. XII. 32
- Laomedon*, one of Alexander's captains ; provinces assigned him, VIII. 106. he is dispossessed by Nicander, 141
- Laranda*, in Pisidia, its tragical end, VIII. 131
- Lashenes*, of Olynthus, VII. 36
- Lashenes*, of Crete, XI. 146,
- Lathyrus*. See Ptolemy *Lathyrus*
- Leuceum*,

INDEX.

lix

- Lebedum*, port of Corinth, IX. 209
- Legion of soldiers*, I. 250
- Bentulus*, consul, is ordered to reinstate Ptolemy Auletes, but is prevented by the Sibyls oracle, XIII. 121
- Leon*, of Corinth, VI. 173
- Leon*, of Athens, VI. 226
- Leona*, Athenian lady, dies for her principle, III. 69
- Leonatus*, one of Alexander's captains, his province, VIII. 105. he aids Antipater, but is killed in battel, 114
- Leonidas*, governor to Alexander, VII. 102
- Leonidas I.* king of Sparta, famous for defending the pass of Thermopylae, III. 291
- Leonidas II.* reigns at Sparta jointly with Agis; his bad character, IX. 103. he is deposed, III. he lays snares for Agis, and puts him to death with his mother and grandmother, 117 to 121
- Leontides*, betrays the citadel of Thebes to the Lacedemonians, VI. 186. his tyrannical progress till killed by Pelopidas, 198
- Leontius*, young Philip's general, insults Aratus at a feast, IX. 207, 209. and for other practices is put to death, 212
- Leosthenes*, animates the Athenians to throw off the Macedonian yoke, VIII. 140. he commands the Greek allies against Antipater, and is mortally wounded at the siege of Lamia, 113, 114
- Leotychides*, king of Sparta, routs the Persians near Mycale, III. 270
- Leotychides*, son of Timæa, wife of Agis, passes for the son of Alcibiades, and for that reason is excluded the throne, IV. 195. V. 74
- Leptinus* of Athens, VI. 314
- Leptinus*, admiral to Dionysius the elder is defeated by the Carthaginians near Catana in Sicily, VI. 95. 112. he kills Calippus, who killed Dion, 159
- Leptinus*, brother to Dionysius, killed in battel, I. 157. VI. 113
- Leptinus*, the Syrian, kills Octavius the Roman ambassador, XI. 135. he is delivered to the senate, 140
- Leptinus*, of Syracuse, XI. 296
- Lernd*, in Laconia, IX. 130
- Lesbos*, island in the Egean sea revolts against the Athenians, IV. 124. but is reduced and punished, 130

- Letters*, their invention by *Cadmus*, I. 75
Leucon, king in the *Bosphorus*; his civility to the *Athenians*, VR. 314
Leucosyria, province of *Lesser Asia*, V. 127
Leuctra, in *Beotia*, famous for *Thebans* defeating *Lacedemonians*, VI. 210
Levinus, consul, defeated by *Pyrrhus*, IX. 7
Levinus, prætor, sent into *Macedonia* against *Philip*, IX. 220, 226. was at the battel of *Penæus*, X. 285
Liberty, greatest blessing to mankind, X. 20. III. 121
Library at Alexandria, I. 28.
 VI. I. 74. *Thebes in Egypt*, I. 66. *Athens*, III. 64.
Pergamus, XI. 72
Library at Pergamus given to *Cleopatra* by *Antony*, XII. 151
Lipara, island, VI. 164
Licinius Crassus, consul, is defeated by *Perseus*, near the *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, X. 282
Liguria, province, given by the Romans to the *Marcellians*, XI. 77
Lilybæum, in *Sicily*, Romans there defeated, I. 194
Lissus, in *Illyria*; taken by *Philip*, IX. 264
Livius, consul, defeats *Alcibiades* in *Italy*, I. 264
Loans, how managed among the *Egyptians*, I. 33, 80
Locusts, great swarms, a plague thereby, XI. 182
Lotus, tree, *Lotophagi*, I. 58
Love, that passion among the ancients not admitted in dramatic pieces, VI. 47
Love conjugal, IX. 116
Lucullus, consul, is charged with the war against *Mithridates*, whom he obliges to raise the siege of *Cyzicum*, XII. 52, 67. he gains two victories, and forces him to take refuge with *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, 70. he defeats *Tigranes*, and takes *Tigranocerta*, 82, 85. he gains another victory over *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, 91. his army refuses to obey him, part of which is defeated by *Mithridates*. *Pompey* is sent to command, 99. *Lucullus* returns to *Rome*, and receives a triumph, 100. his character, 95
Lusitania, or *Portugal*, part of old *Spain*, I. 140
Lutatus, consul, beats the *Carthaginians* at sea, and thereby

I N D E X.

lxij

- whereby puts an end to the first Punic war, I. 199
- Luxury*, the ruin of states, III. 150
- Lybia*, Northeast part of Africa, I. 201. VII. 207
- Lycidas*, Athenian, and his family stoned to death. II. 257
- Lycia*, maritim province of Asiamenor ; that and Caria declared free, X. 304
- Lyciscus*, Acarnian deputy, his speech to the Spartans against the Romans, IX. 230
- Lyciscus*, who massacred the Etolians is cleared by Paulus Aemilius, XI. 60
- Lycortas*, Polybius's father is sent ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes, X. 130, 133. he revenges Philopæmen's death, 351
- Lycurgus*, first regent of Sparta, governs the kingdom as guardian to Charilaus, III. 21. his laws and ordinances, 23 to 33. he consults the oracle at Delphos, and dies wilfully by abstaining from food : reflections thereon 34
- Lycurgus* II. bribes the Ephori, and is elected king of Sparta, IX. 191. Chilo's conspiracy, 196. Lycurgus flies into Etolia from the rage of the Ephori, and is soon after recalled, 215
- Lydia*, province of Asiamenor, its kings and history, II. 111, subdued by Cyrus, 177
- Lying*, abhorred by the Persians, II. 262
- Lycestes* for conspiring against Alexander is put to death, VII. 272
- Lysander*, appointed admiral of Sparta, IV. 260. beats the Athenian fleet near Ephesus, and again at Ægospotamos or Egos river, 260 to 280. he takes Athens, changes the whole government ; and carries to Sparta the gold and silver taken from the enemy : he is sent to Athens to support the thirty tyrants, 284. he abuses his power, and suffers altars to be dedicated to him, V. 17. he is recalled to Sparta, and accompanies Agesilaus into Asia : he quarrels with him, returns to Sparta, and designs to alter the succession, 78. he is killed before Haliastus, which he was going to besiege, 95. some time after his death, the plot he had formed against the two kings is discovered, 106
- Lysander*, one of the Ephori at Sparta, concurs in the

INDEX.

- posal of king Agis, IX. 108
- Lysandra*, Ptolemy's daughter, marries Agathocles son of Lysimachus : after the murder of her husband she persuades Seleucus to make war against Lysimachus, VIII. 295
- Lysades*, of Megalopolis, renounces his power, IX. 101
- Lysias*, kinsman of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made a governor and guardian to his son Antiochus Eupator, X. 235. he is defeated by Judas, 238. he gets the regency during the minority of Eupator, loses another battel, and makes peace with the Jews : XI. 124, 127. he and Eupator are delivered to Demetrius Soter, who puts them to death, 137
- Lysias*, Athenian officer at the battel of Arginuse, 149
- Lysias*, of Thurium; Greek orator, IV. 93. he aids the Athenians against the tyrants, V. 13. he carries Socrates an oration for his defense, 161
- Lysicles*, Athenian commander at Cheronea, defeated by Philip, VII. 74
- Lysimachus*, his provinces after Alexander's death, VIII. 105. he takes the title of king, 216. and makes a league with three others, who divide Alexander's empire among them, 248. he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, 262. and divides it with Pyrrhus, whom he obliges to quit it, 265, 267. he dies in battel at Cyropedium against Seleucus, 293
- Lysimachus*, son of Aristides, VI. 313
- Lysimachus*, Alexander's preceptor, VII. 175
- M.
- Macabees*, their Martyrs, X. 227
- Macanidas* becomes tyrant of Sparta, IX. 231. he endeavors to subdue all Peloponese, 259. Philopæmen defeats and kills him in battel, 263
- Macedonia*, north kingdom of Greece, III. 4. its origin, 8. its duration, 15. its kings before Philip, VII. 1. successors to Alexander, VIII. 90. After Perseus, the last king, Macedonia is declared free, XI. 38, 43. and

INDEX.

lxiii

- 43, and some time after
reduced into a Roman
province, 83
Madathes, governor of Uxia
for Darius, makes terms
with Alexander, VII. 238
Magas, governor of Cyrenia
and Lybia, makes himself
king of those provinces,
IX. 46
Magas, put to death by his
brother Ptolemy Philopator,
IX. 170
Magi, directors of the reli-
gion and worship of the
Persians, II. 304, 306
Magistrate, his duty, XII. 25
Magnesia, city of Ionia; Ar-
taxerxes gives the revenue
of that place to Themistocles
for his subsistence,
IV. 8
Magnesia, battel in Lydia,
X. 87
Mago, is sent into Sicily
against Dionysius the elder,
with whom after various
efforts he concludes a
peace, VI. 95 to 102. he
loses his life in battel,
I. 157
Mago, son of Mago, com-
mands the army in Sicily,
and defeats Dionysius, whose
brother Leptinus was kil-
led, I. 157. he also com-
mands against Dionysius the
younger, but leaving Si-
- cily, he returns to Car-
thage, and in despair kills
himself, I. 160
Mago, admirall of the fleet
sent to aid the Romans
against Pyrrhus, I. 175
Mago, Hannibal's brother,
sent express to Carthage
for the victory at Cannæ,
I. 255
Mago, another Carthaginian,
prisoner in Sardinia, I. 260
Maberbal, general officer at
the battel of Cannæ I. 253
Mahomet, his tomb a vulgar
mistake, IX. 61
Mamertines, originally of
Italy: they seize Messina,
I. 177. are defeated by
Pyrrhus, IX. 23, a divi-
sion among them causes
the first Punic war, I. 178.
XI. 298
Manasseb, king of Judah,
carried captive to Babylon,
is set at liberty, and returns
to Jerusalem, II. 86
Mandana, wife to Cambyses,
and mother of Cyrus, II.
172
Mundanis, Indian Bramin,
refuses to accompany Alex-
ander, VIII. 5
Manetho, Egyptian priest,
author of the history of
the Dynasties of Egypt,
I. 63. VI. 296

Mania

INDEX.

- Maria*, wife of Zenis, governs Bœlia after the death of her husband with admirable conduct: she with her son, by Midias her son in law are strangled, V. 70
Mamilius, consul, his orders to destroy Carthage, II. 5
Mamilius, tribune, prepares a decree to appoint Pompey captain general by land and sea, XII. 96
Mamilius Cirtius, consul, defeats Pyrrhus, and obliges him to leave Italy, XI. 10.
Mamilius Aquilius, consul, diminishes the war with Aristonicus, and obtains a triumph, XI. 169, 170
Mamilius, consul with Regulus, they defeat the Carthaginian fleet near Ecnomia in Sicily, I. 182
Mamilius, consul with Fulvius, subdues the Gauls in Asia, X. 118, 122
Mantinea, city in Arcadia, where Epaminondas beat the Lacedemonians, and Philopæmen Macanidas, VI. 240. IX. 259
Maracanda, capital of Sogdiana, VII. 278
Marathon, town of Attica, famous for the victory of Miltiades over the Persians, III. 184
Marcellus, first as praetor, then as consul, gains several advantages over Hannibal, I. 260. His actions in Sicily, XII. 1 to 17
Marcius, Roman knight, preserves Spain by his good conduct, I. 264
Marcius, Roman ambassador, his interview with Perseus, X. 272
Marcius Philippus, consul, is charged with the war against Perseus: his difficult march into Macedonia, X. 296 to 304
Mardonius, son in law of Darius, his ill success, III. 175. he persuades Xerxes to invade Greece, who gives him a great army for that purpose, 203, 249. he enters Athens and burns the residue of what was taken the year before, 256. he is defeated and slain at the battel of Platea, 263
Mare, wins the race without a rider, VI. 28
Marriages, at Athens and Sparta, III. 57. V. 97
Mariamne, granddaughter of Aristobulus, marries Herod the Edomean, XI. 239
Marius, lieutenant under Metellus, supplants that general in the war with Jurgurtha, whom he gets into his

- his hands, and makes an ornament of his triumph, II. 42
- Marius*, sent by Sertorius to the aid of Mithridates : he is taken by Lucullus and put to death, XII. 63. 67
- Mayonéa*, maritim city of Thrace : the massacre there by order of Philip, X. 141
- Marsilians*. Their embassy to Rome ; their origin : they settle in Gaul ; wisdom of their government, and attachment to the Romans, XI. 76 to 82, they obtain pardon for Phocéa, which was condemned to be destroyed, 170
- Marsyas*, Cleopatra's general, taken prisoner by Hergelochus, XI. 179
- Masinissa*, king of Numidia joins the Romans against the Carthaginians, I. 268 he aids the Romans against Perseus, X. 269, he marries Sophonisba, and poisons her, I. 297 to the end. contests between him and the Carthaginians : he defeats them in a battel : history of his family, II. 34
- Masistus*, one of the six commanders in the army of Xerxes, III. 221 deplores the end of him and his children, 273
- Massaga*, city of India, taken by Alexander, VII. 312
- Messina*, Numidian prince, is murdered by Jugurtha's order, II. 41
- Mataebias*, Jew, refuses to obey Antiochus : he retires with his family to avoid the persecution, X. 225, his death, 232
- Matbo*, in concert with Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt, I. 204, he takes Hannibal prisoner and hangs him : he is routed by the Carthaginians and executed, 210, 211
- Mausolus*, king of Caria, plots against Artaxerxes, VI. 264. he subjects the people of Rhodes and Cos : his death and Mausoleum, 286
- Mazaeus*, governor of Memphis, abandons that city to Alexander, VII. 206, he commands the horse for Darius at the battel of Arbela, 226, surrenders himself, and the city of Babylon to Alexander, who makes him governor of that province, 230, 231
- Mecenas*, IV. 84
- Medea*

- Medea* and her brother, XII.
Medes, inhabiting Media,
their history : Medes and
Persians united, II. 98 to
111. they rebell, but are
defeated and return to their
duty, IV. 152
Media, kingdom, described
by Polybius, IX. 269
Megabyssus, governor of
Thrace for Darius ; he
sends insolent deputies to
demand earth and water of
Amyntas : the revenge
taken for it by the son of
Amyntas, III. 161, 162
Megabyssus, son of Zopyrus,
general in the army of
Xerxes, III. 221. he re-
duces the Egyptians and
promises to spare their
lives ; but seeing them put
to death contrary to treaty,
he revolts against Artax-
erxes and defeats two ar-
mies sent against him : he
is pardoned and returns to
court, IV. 22, 24
Megacles, son of Alcmeon,
III. 60
Megacles, friend of Pyrrhus,
IX. 8
Megadates, viceroy of Syria
for Tigranes, XII. 90
Megaleas, Philip's general,
devotes himself to Apelles
the king's minister, IX. 200
his bad designs being dis-
covered, he kills himself,
213
Megalopolis, in Arcadia, VI.
284. joins the Achean
league, IX. 301
Megara, Achean city, III.
98. joins the league, V.
147. taken from Cappa-
der by the troops of De-
metrius, 1510 VIII. 266
Megistones, killed at Argos,
IX. 135
Melitus, chief accuser of So-
crates, is put to death, V.
163, 185
Memacena, destroyed by Alex-
ander, VII. 278.
Mennis, nigh Babylon, a
noted spring of Bitumen,
VII. 229
Memnon's statue in Egypt,
I. 4
Memnon, Rhodian, is recon-
ciled with Ochus, against
whom he had taken arms,
VI. 298. he advises Da-
rius's generals from fight-
ing the battel of the Gra-
nicus, VII. 124. he de-
fends Miletus and Halicar-
nassus against Alexander,
130, 131. carries the war
into Macedonia, but dies
at the siege of Mytelene,
135, 136.
Memphis, city in Egypt, I. 67
taken by Cambyses, II. 235
and

- and after by Alexander, VII. 206.
- Memphis*, battel, IV. 20
- Memphitis*, son of Physcon and Cleopatra, is murdered by his father, cut to pieces, and sent to his mother, XI. 179
- Men or Mankind*, their general characters the same in all ages, V. 49, 119, VII. 106
- Menander*, Athenian, colleague to Nicias in Sicily, forces that general to a seafight in which he is worsted, IV. 219. he partly causes the defeat of the Athenians near Egos, 281
- Menander*, poet, VI. 58
- Menander*, one of Alexander's captains, VIII. 105
- Menes*, in Egypt, a prince of that city disputes the crown with Nectanebis, but is overcome by Agesilaus, VI. 262
- Menecrates*, mad vanity of that physician, VII. 90
- Menelaus*, Ptolemy's brother, is defeated by Demetrius, and released without ransom, VIII. 213, 215
- Menelaus*, supplants his brother Jason the highpriest, X. 207. Jason drives him out of Jerusalem, but Antiochus reinstates him, 211
- Menon*, general to Cyrus the younger, basely seized with other Greek generals and put to death, V. 47
- Mentor*, is sent by Nectanebis into Phœnicia to support the rebels, but being confounded on the approach of Ochus's army he revolts to Ochus : his progress and actions, VI. 290
- the whole section.
- Mercenaries*, their wars with the Carthaginians, I. 201
- Mercants*, a good remark on them, I. 202
- Mercury*, to whom Egypt was indebted for most of their arts, I. 70
- Merit*, Livy's observation, I. 289
- Meroe*, island, so named from *Meroe*, daughter to Cyrus, her tragical death, II. 239
- Messenia*, part of Peloponnesus, III. 114
- Messenians*, First war between them and the Spartans, which latter are defeated near Ithoma, III. 116. second war, the Messenians are at first victorious, then defeated and reduced to the condition of Helots, 120. but reinstated by the Thebans, VI. 219. the Messenians put Philo-
- F f pæman

- pæmen to death, they are subjected by the Achæans, X. 147 to 150. fault of the Messenians, which caused all their misfortunes, VI. 219
- Messina*, in Sicily, I. 177. ancient name Zancle, III. 124
- Metaurus*, river in Umbria, Italy ; battel, where died Asdrubal, I. 266
- Metellus, Numidicus*, consul, charged with the war against Jugurtha ; he is supplanted by Marius, but enters Rome in triumph, II. 41, 43
- Metellus*, Roman prætor, defeats Andrius and sends him to Rome : he routs Alexander another pretender, XI. 87. and defeats the Achean rebels, 92
- Metbona*, city of Thrace, destroyed by Philip, where he lost one of his eyes, VII. 24
- Methymna*, in Lesbos IV. 124
- Metrodorus*, of Scepsis, ambassador to Tigranes, Mithridates puts him to death XII. 79
- Metrodorus*, painter and philosopher of Athens, is given to Æmilius as a tutor to his sons, XI. 40
- Micipsa*, king of Numidia, II. 35
- Midias*, his villainous murderer of his mother in law and her son, V. 70
- Miletus*, city of Ionia, III. 173. cruelties acted there by Lysander, V. 18. besieged by Halyattes, II. 214. taken by Alexander, VII. 130. taken and burnt by the Persians, III. 173
- Milo*, the champion of Crotona, defeats the Sybarites, IV. 92. his great strength and death, 97
- Miltiades* of Egina, prince of the Thraeian Chersonese and brother to Cimon, is made free of Athens, III. 177
- Miltiades*, prince of the Chersonese, and younger son of Cimon, II. 177. he accompanies Darius in the Scythian expedition, 158. leaves the Chersonese to avoid the Scythians, 162. commands the Athenian army at the famous victory of Marathon, 184. he is basely rewarded, and dies of a wound received in the ile of Paros, 194
- Mina*, Greek money, IV. 132
- Mindarus*, Spartan admiral, defeated

- defeated and killed by Alcibiades, *I. 181* IV. 254
Mines, or Prisons of Syracuse, *IV. 237*
Mines, in Spain, *I. 120*
Minos, king of Crete, his laws and history, *V. 204*
Minucius, general of the horse to Fabius. He gains a slight advantage, which procures him equal authority with the dictator; he is caught in a snare and extricated by Fabius, *I. 247*. he is killed at the battel of Cannæ, *253*
Misraim, the same with Menes, first king of Egypt, *I. 65*
Mithridates I., king of Pontus, accompanies Alexander in his expedition, *VII. 132*
Mithridates II., king of Pontus, flies from Antigonus to save his life, *VIII. 94*
Mithridates III., king of Pontus, with Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and *VIII. 94*
Mithridates IV. *VIII. 94*
Mithridates V. surnamed *Euergetes*, aids the Romans against Carthage, *VIII. 94*. the Romans give him Phrygia Major, *XI. 170*. he is killed by his own servants, *183*
Mithridates VI., surnamed *Eupator*, son of the former: This is he who supported a thirty years war with the Romans, *XI. 183* his victories and losses with Sylla, Fimbria, Murena, Cotta, and Lucullus, *XII. 31* to 94. his dreadful massacre of the Romans, 38. he gives a feast, and settles prizes for those who should excell in eating, drinking and carousing, 61. during the disension in the Roman army, he recovers all his dominions, 92. he is defeated several times by Pompey: he retires into the Bosporus and puts his son Xiphares to death: his proposals of peace to Pompey are rejected: he designs to attack the Romans in Italy: Pharnaces making the army revolt against him, he kills himself. Character of Mithridates, *95* to *116*
Mithridates I., king of Parthia, defeats Demetrius, and takes him prisoner: after which he gives him his daughter Rhodogune in marriage, *XI. 157, 158*
Mithridates II., called *The Great*; after the death of *F. 2* Artaban

Artabān he is king of Parthia, XI. 177. he reinstates Antiochus Eusebes, 200. 245 he sends an ambassador to Sylla, whom he kills at his return, XII. 33
Mithridates III. king of Parthia : his brother Orodes dethrones and puts him to death, XI. 246
Mithridates, Persian lord, boasts of giving Cyrus the younger his mortal wound, V. 33. Parysatis causes him to be put to death in the trough, VI. 65
Mithridates, eunuch and great chamberlain to Xerxes is a party in his murder, III. 299. he is killed by the punishment of the trough, IV. 2
Mithridates, of Pergamus, brings troops to Cæsar in Egypt, XII. 137
Mnasippus, Lacedemonian admiral, killed before Corcyra, VI. 304
Modesty, a good example of it II. 112
Moeris, Lake, I. 11
Moloch, deity of Carthage, I. 107
Molo, governor of Media for Antiochus the Great : he makes himself sovereign, but is routed in battel and kills himself : his brothers

Neolas and Alexander do the same after killing their mother, their wives and children, IX. 158, 164
Monarchy, best form of government, II. 101, 248, 250. III. 19
Monima, of Ionia : married to Mithridates, XII. 38. her mournful end, 71
Moon and Saturn, I. 107
Mopsuestia, city in Cilicia, its miserable end, XI. 199
Multitude, either tyrants or slaves, III. 183, XI. 322
Munychia, town and port of Athens, VIII. 118, 119. XII. 45
Mummies of Egypt, 45
Mummius, consul, defeats the Acheans ; takes Corinth and intirely demolishes it, XI. 92, 95. excellent character of Mummius, with his notion of pictures, 99. he enters Rome in triumph, 101. he goes on an embassy into Egypt, Asia and Greece, 164. See X. 152
Murena commands the left wing for Sylla at the battel of Cheronea, XII. 47. he makes war against Mithridates, and is defeated, but receives the honor of a triumph, 59 to 61

- Museum*, at Alexandria, its descriptions, VIII. 274, 276
- Music*, among the antients, a dissertation thereon, II. 290. theatre of music at Athens, IV. 48. the Greeks made it a chief part of education, V. 237. its depravity, 239. prize of music founded by Pericles, 272
- Mycale*, promontory of Ionia, east of Samos, where the Greeks beat the Persians, III. 271
- Mycene*, city of Argos, its kings, III. 11
- Myle*, in Sicily, naval victory gained by the Romans, I. 181. battel in the plain of Myle, XI. 297
- Myonesus*, in Ionia, seafight gained by Regilles, X. 81
- Myronides*, Athenian, defeats the Spartans near Tanagra in Beotia, IV. 40
- Myrto*, supposed wife of Socrates, V. 139
- Mytilene*, chief city in Lesbos, taken by the Athenians, IV. 139
- N**abarzanes conspires with Bessus to seize their sovereign, the unfortunate Darius, VII. 246. surrenders to Alexander, 259
- Nabis*, tyrant of Sparta, his avarice and cruelty, IX. 266. X. 4. the Romans declare war against him, and besiege him in Sparta : he makes peace and breaks it, 31 to 41. he is defeated by Philopemus, 51. and assassinated, 57
- Nabonazar*, king of Babylon, II. 81
- Nabopolazar*, king of Babylon, joins with Cyaxares king of Media, besieges and intirely ruins Nineveh, II. 88. he sends his son with an army against Necho, and dies, 89
- Nabucadnezar I.* or Nabucodonazar, or Saosduchin, king of Nineveh, II. 87. is attacked by Phraortes king of Media, but defeats and puts him to death, 106. he sends Holophernes to punish the Israelites, but his army is defeated, 106
- Nabucadnezar II.* or Nabucodonazar, is associated in the empire of Assyria by his father Nabopolazar ; he defeats Necho, and conquers Syria and Palestin ; he takes Jerusalem, and carries

- carries away a great number of Jews to Babylon : he reigns alone after the death of his father : his first dream : he enters Jerusalem again, and carries away all its treasure : he causes himself to be adored, and takes Tyre after a long siege ; subdues Egypt, and carries off much treasure : his second dream : he is reduced to the condition of a beast, but recovers his former state ; reascends the throne and dies, II. 89 to 96. See also I. 92 to 100
- Nabutbean Arabs*, VIII. 195
- Naphta*, an inflammable bitumen, VII. 229, 230
- Naval force of the Greeks and others*, V. 252. VI. 309
- Naupactus* in Etolia, taken by Acilius, X. 73
- Naxos*, island, a sedition there causes the Ionians to revolt against Darjus, III. 164
- Naxos* in Sicily, IV. 176
- Nearchus*, officer to Alexander, surveys the coast from Indus river to the Persian gulf, VIII. 21
- Necho*, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, tries to join the Nile to the Redsea. Able navigators by his order sail round Africa, and return by Gibraltar, I. 89, 90.
- he marches against the Babylonians and Medes ; defeats and kills Josiah King of Judah, who opposed his march : he beats the Babylonians and takes Carcamis : he takes Jerusalem ; deprives Jehoaz of the crown, and gives it to Jehoiakim : he is conquered by Nebucadnezar, who retakes Carcamis : death of Necho, 90 to 92
- Nectanebos*, revolted king of Egypt in the room of Tachos, VI. 262. unable to defend himself against Ochus, he escapes into Ethiopia where he dies, being the last Egyptian king of Egypt, 295, 296
- Nebemiah*, cupbearer to Artaxerxes, is permitted to return to Jerusalem, IV. 26
- Nemean games*, VI. 3
- Neoptolemus*, one of Alexander's successors, VIII. 106 he joins Antipater against Perdiccas, and is killed in battle, 132, 135
- Neoptolemus*, uncle to Pyrthus, VIII. 96, 256
- Neoptolemus*, poet, VM. 85
- Neriglissar*, conspires against Evilmerodach, and reigns in

- in his stead ; in war with the Medes he is killed in battel, II. 96, 160
- Nero*, consul, quits his province to attack Asdrubal, I. 265
- Nevius*, surprizes Phillip's camp in the night, IX. 222
- Nicanor* and Egisimachus, their fatal brawny, VII. 317
- Nicanor*, Cassander's brother put to death by Olympias, VIII. 165
- Nicanor*, governor of Media, surprized in his camp by Seleucus, VIII. 193. killed after in battel, 216
- Nicanor*, officer to Seleucus Ceraunus, poisons him, and is executed, IX. 157
- Nicanor*, general to Antiochus Epiphanes, is defeated by Judas, X. 236. he is again defeated and killed, XI. 138
- Nicea*, built by Alexander, where he defeated Porus, VII. 324
- Nicias*, general for the Athenians in Sicily, IV. 161, 177. his two colleagues compel him to ingage in a seafight, where he is defeated, 219. his army is also defeated ; and he again beat at sea : he is reduced, and surrenders at discretion, but is condemned and executed, 220 to 237
- Nicias* is put to death by Perseus tho he obeyed his order, X. 302.
- Nicocles*, king of Salamis, good character, VI. 253
- Nicocles*, king of Paphos, makes a private alliance with Antigonus, and kills himself, VIII. 189
- Nicocles*, tyrant of Sicyon, is expelled by Aratus, IX. 84
- Nicolaus*, venerable old man, pleads in behalf of the Athenian generals, IV. 235
- Nicomedes I.* king of Bithynia, VIII. 91
- Nicomedes II.* son of Prusias king of Bithynia, VIII. 92. he kills his father, who had given orders to kill him, XI. 74. he sets up a boy under the name of Ariarathes for king of Cappadocia, 285. his death XII. 34
- Nicomedes III.* dethroned by his brother Socrates, assisted by Mithridates, but replaced by the Romans, XII. 34. expelled by Mithridates, 38. and restored by Sylla, 54. in gratitude he leaves the Roman people his heir, 63. XI. 203
- Nicon*

- Nicon*, champion of Thasos : adventure that happened to his statue ; crowned victor fourteen hundred times, VI. 177
- Nicobratus*, of Argos, one of Ochus's generals in Egypt, VI. 295
- Nicobratus*, Achean, defeats Androstenes at Corinth, X. 16
- Nile*, river, its natural history and description, I. 13
- Nimrod*, founder of the Assyrian monarchy : Moses puts him very near Abraham, II. 56, 60
- Nineveh*, city of Assyria, II. 59. 61. kings of Nineveh, and its destruction, 88, 108
- Ninus*, king of Assyria, often confounded with Nimrod, II. 61. he builds Nineveh and conquers the Bactrians, 62
- Nitocris*, queen of Babylon, inscription on her tomb, II. 97
- No Ammon*, I. 84. This city according to Calmet, was Disopolis in the Busiric nome of Delta. In Cellarius tis put on the wrong side the river.
- Nobility*, what is truly so, VIII. 183
- Nora*, famous castle, VIII. 140
- Number of forces*, how computed, III. 220
- Numidia*, kingdom, I. 297
- Nyphæus*, relieves the citadel of Syracuse, and fills the city with murder and fire, VI. 150. at length he is drove out of Syracuse, 163
- OAKS*, vocal oracles, V. 286
- Oaths remarkable*, V. 218, 233
- Obedience*, how obtained, II. 136
- Obelisks of Egypt*, I. 6
- Ocba*, sister of Ochus, is buried alive by his order, VI. 273
- Ocbus*. See *Darius I.*
- Ocbus*, son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, marches against Sogdianus, whom he secures and puts to death for his horrid murders : he changes his own name to Darius, IV. 147. See *Darius Notbus*.
- Ocbus*, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, opens his way to empire by destroying his two brothers, VI. 266. he takes the name of Artaxerxes : his murders and cruelties, 273. his expedition against Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt ; after which

which he abandons himself to pleasure, and is poisoned by Bagoas, 290 to 299
Ottavia, widow of Marcellus, sister of young Cæsar, and wife to Antony, XII. 151
Ottavius, prætor, commands the Roman fleet against Perseus, XI. 9. whom he distresseth, and at length obliges to surrender: he sends Perseus to the consul Æmilius, and receives the honor of a triumph, 32, to 49. he is sent ambassador into Syria, where he is murdered: the senate erect a statue for him, 126, 135
Ottavius, lieutenant to Crassus, indeavours in vain to console him on his defeat: in his interview with Surenas, he is killed in defending Crassus, XI. 269
Ottolepus, battel, IX. 295
Odeon, music theatre, IV. 48
Ogyges, flood, III. 12
Oltibaces, of Colchis, XII. 117
Olympia, or Pisa, city of Elis, V. 73. famous for the Olympic games, VI. 3, and Jupiter's temple, XI. 42
Olympiads, III. 14
Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, is married to king Philip, and has by him Alexander the Great, VII. 13. Philip divorces

her, 83. Alexander carries her to Epirus, 84. Polyspercon recalls her and divides the government with her, 145. she causes Ariades and his wife to be put to death, 165. Cassander takes her prisoner and destroys her, 167
Olympus, mount in Thessaly, ten furlongs in hight, XI. 20
Olyntbus, in Chalcidia, surrenders to the Lacedemonians, VI. 185, 189. Philip takes that city and plunders it, VII. 31 to 36
Ompbis, king. See *Taxilus*.
Onian hills, IX. 135
Onias, son of Jaddus, highpriest of the Jews, VIII. 138. his death, 251
Onias, highpriest, venerable for his piety, refuses Heliodus the treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, X. 198. he is supplanted by his brother Jason, 204. he dies, 207
Onias, son of the former, retires into Egypt, and builds a temple there for the Jews, XI. 144
Opomarcus, general of the Phœceans, he is defeated by Philip and killed: his body is hung up, VII. 25
Opbel-

- Ophellas*, governor of Lybia and Cyrenica revolts against Ptolemy, VIII. 201. he is seduced by Agathocles, who puts him to death, I. 172
- Opis*, on the river Tigris, VIII. 35
- Oppius*, proconsul, defeated and taken prisoner by Mithridates, XII. 37
- Opuntus* in Locris, plundered by Attalus, IX. 245
- Oracles*, a section thereon, V. 286
- Orations*, made for those who dyed in defense of their country, IV. 107
- Orchestra*, dancing part of the theatre, VI. 61
- Orchomenians*, at the battel of Coronæa, V. 102
- Orchomenus*, battel in Beotia gained by Sylla, XII. 50
- Orcynium*, in Cappadoccia, where Eumenes was beat by treachery, VIII. 139
- Orestes*, son of Agamemnon, III. 12
- Orestes*, Roman commissary at Corinth, XI. 89
- Oretes*, governor of Sardis, treacherously puts Polycrates to death, II. 242. Darius puts him to death, III. 129
- Oreum*, in Eubea surrendered treacherously, IX. 244
- Oricum in Chersonia*, IX. 222
- Ormus*. See *Harmusia*.
- Orobazus*, ambassador from Mithridates to Sylla, is put to death at his return, XI. 245. XII. 33
- Orodes*, king of Parthia, his war with the consul Crassus, XI. 247. jealous of Surena's glory by the defeat of Crassus, he basely puts him to death, 272. his son dying he appoints Phraates to be his successor, who puts him to death 278
- Orontes*, general for Mnemon against Evagoras: he accuses Tiribazus falsely, V. 117. and is put to death, 124
- Orontes*, governor of Myzia, joins in a plot against Artaxerxes Mnemon, and then betrays it, VI. 264
- Orphans*, wise law made for them by Charondas, IV. 94
- Orsines*, governor of Pasargada, he meets Alexander with noble presents, and is put to death by the intrigues of Bagoas, VIII. 25, 27
- Ophis*, is routed and taken prisoner by Megabyssus, who generously sends him back to Artaxerxes, IV. 23
- Ofracism*,

- Ostracism*, Athenian sentence of banishment, III. 195. that of Hyperbolus puts an end to the ostracism, IV. 172
- Ozymandas*, king of Egypt, his famous buildings, library and tomb, I. 66
- Otanes*, discovers the imposture of Smerdis, II. 246. he reestablishes Sylylon in Samos, III. 138
- Olbryades*, Spartan, gains the victory, and kills himself on the field of battel, III. 114
- Ozartes*, entertains Alexander, and gives him Roxana in marriage, VII. 299
- Ozatres*, Darius's brother, distinguishes himself at the battel of Issus, VII. 155, 276
- Oxus and Coriensis*, rocks besieged and taken by Alexander, VII. 287, 297
- Oxyrinchus*, city of lower Egypt: swarms of Nuns and Monks there, I. 43
- Oxydracea*, Indian people, VIII. 13
- Ozolia*, in Locris, III. 4. IX. 188
- P.
- Paeorus*, son of king Orodæs, joined with Orsaces besieges Antioch, and is defeated, XI. 273. he returns into Syria, is defeated and killed, 277
- Pagan*, The use we should make of the praises given the pagans, III. 102, 104
- Paganism*, general and useful remarks, IV. 96. V. 168
- Paleis* in Cephalenia, IX. 102
- Palestine*, the bone of contention between Assyria and Egypt, I. 87. II. 54
- Palestra*, school for wrestling, VI. 10
- Palica*, in Sicily, IV. 87
- Pammenes*, commands the Theban auxiliaries for Artabazus, VI. 274. and reduces Megalopolis for the Athenians, 286
- Panathanea*, festival, V. 271
- Panæas*, battel in the north of Galilee, IX. 302
- Panetius*, philosopher, IV. 33. XI. 164
- Pantaenæus*, Perseus's envoy to Gentius, XI. 14
- Pantaea*, wife of Abradates, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, II. 153. she brings her husband to join Cyrus, 155. her discourse with him before the battel of Thymbræa, 170. her excessive grief on the death of Aradates; she stabs herself, and falls dead upon his body, 177
- Papyrus*,

- Papyrus*, Egyptian plant, I. 56
- Parafeng*, a Persian measure, V. 62
- Parchment*, invention, I. 57
- Paris*, Trojan, returning home is drove by a tempest into the Nile : Proteus king of Egypt makes him leave Helen and return to Troy, I. 77
- Parmenio*, chief general to Alexander ; he seizes the pass of Syria, and takes Issus, VII. 147. Alexander confides to him the treasures and the prisoners 164. he advises to accept Darius's offer, and wonders at seeing Alexander bow to the Highpriest, 192, 195. commands the left wing at Arbela, 223. Alexander causes him to be killed as an accomplice in the conspiracy with Philotas : praise of Parmenio, 272
- Paropamisus*, mountain, VII. 274
- Parricide*, reasons why Solon made no law against it, III. 59
- Partbeniats*, from Sparta, settle at Tarentum in Italy, III. 116
- Parthia*, kingdom in upper Asia ; its beginning and kings, XI. 157, 243
- Partians*, never subdued by the Romans, XI. 271
- Parysatis*, sister and wife of Darius Nothus, IV. 149. her great influence, 261. she obtains pardon of Artaxerxes for her son Cyrus, 288. her cruelty to Mesarabates : she poisons Statira, and is confined at Babylon, V. 65
- Pasargada*, in Persia, where their kings were crowned, VII. 243
- Pastigris*, the two arms of the Tigris, forming an island at the bottom of the Persian gulf, VII. 237
- Passei*, three into Cilicia, VII. 146
- Patala*, ile and city, VIII. 19
- Patisibes*, makes his brother Smerdis king of Persia ; they are both killed, II. 243, 247
- Patreclus*, sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to aid the Athenians : he orders the Satyric poet Sotades to be drowned in the sea, IX. 45
- Patron*, general of the Greeks, advises Darius in vain to let them be his guard, VII. 246
- Paulus*. See *Emilius*.
- Pausanias*; king of Sparta, commands the Greeks jointly

- Jointly with Aristides, and gains a great victory over the Persians at Plat  a, III. 258 to 263. his secret conspiracy with the Persians is discovered, and he starved to death, 285, 287
- Pausanias*, king of Sparta with Agis, IV. 284, he obtains peace for the Athenians, V. 14. he neglects to join Lysander : is summoned to appear, but refuses, and is condemned to die : he retires to Tegeum, and dies there, 96
- Pausanias*, Macedonian king, is expelled by Iphicrates, VII. 4
- Pausanias*, young Macedonian lord, assassinates king Philip in the height of his glory, and is torn to pieces, VII. 86
- Pausistratus*, commander of the Rhodian fleet, is defeated and killed by Polycrates, X. 79
- Pedaretus*, of Sparta, his love to his country, III. 32
- Pelagus*, first taught the Greeks to live upon acorns, III. 9
- Pelignians*, Italian people in the army of Aemilius at Pydna, XI. 27
- Pella*, in Macedonia, VII. 1
- Pelopidas*, Theban, his character and friendship with Epaminondas : he forms the design of reinstating the liberty of his country, VI. 191. drives the garrison out of the citadel, 200. and causes the Athenians to declare for the Thebans : he gains an advantage over the Lacedemonians near Tegyra, 205. and commands the sacred battalion at Leuctra, 210. he rages Laconia, 216. reduces to reason Alexander tyrant of Pherae, 227. but is after seized by treachery, 230. Pelopidas marches against the tyrant, defeats his troops ; but is killed thro his own rash conduct : singular honors paid to his memory, 236. See VII. 5
- Pelopidas*, sent by Mithridates ambassador to the Romans, XII. 34
- Peloponnesus*, the south part of Greece, now called Morea, III. 12. Peloponnesian war, IV. 99
- Pelops*, gave name to Peloponnesus, III. 16
- Pelusium*, taken by Cambyses, II. 233. and by Ochus, VI. 295. the key of Egypt, X. 216

- Penéus*, battel, Romans defeated by Perseus, X. 283
Pengab, river, VIII. 11
Pensions, and contributions in Persia, II. 273
Perdicæas, son of Amyntas II. succeeds as king of Macedonia, VI. 228. VII. 4, 5. he is killed in a battel with the Illyrians, 6
Perdiccas, one of Alexander's generals, receives that dying prince's ring, VIII. 50. he is appointed guardian of Arideus, and regent of the kingdom, 105. he hath Media for his province : he puts to death Statira Alexander's widow, and quells the revolt of the Greeks in Asia, 106 to 109. he puts Eumenes into possession of Cappadocia, and marrys Cleopatra Alexander's sister 130, 131. his unfortunate expedition into Egypt, where he is killed in his tent, 136
Pergamus, city of Great Mysia in Asia Minor : kings of Pergamus, VII. 92. besieged by Seleucus, and saved by Diophanes, X. 79
Periander, king of Corinth, one of the seven sages, III. 15, 85
Pericles, Athenian, his actions, character and history, IV. 29 to 120. he reduces the Areopagus, 36
Pericles, son of the former, one of the Athenian generals at the battel of Argusæ, IV. 269
Perinthus, aliter Heraclæa in Thrace, besieged by Philip, and saved by Phocion, VII. 58, 62
Perjury, in Egypt, was punished with death, I. 32
Perpenna, Roman embassador to Gentius, is imprisoned, XI. 14. Anicius delivers him, and sends him to Rome with the news of his defeating Gentius, 15. Perpenna, when consul, defeats Aristonicus, and takes him prisoner, 169
Persepolis, capital of Persia, taken by Alexander, who burns the palace in a drunken frolick, VII. 243
Perseus, first king of Mycene, III. 11
Perseus, son of Philip III. last king of Macedon, conspires against his brother Demetrius, and procures his destruction, after whose death he takes possession of the throne, X. 169 to 196. he puts Antigonus to death, whom his father had appointed successor, and prepares for a war with Rome,

- Rome, 258. his various fortune, good and bad till his last defeat at Pydna, X. 256 to the end, and XI. to 49
- Persia**, foundation of its empire by Cyrus, II. 212. kings who reigned in Persia till the extinction of its empire by Alexander; and the vices which caused that decline and fall, VII. 250. See II. 311, and VI. 267. State of Persia in the time of Cyrus, III. 127. manners and customs of the Persians, their civil, military and religious government, 250 to 311. coronation of their kings, V. 2
- Perian treasure** taken by Alexander, 27 million sterling, VII. 247
- Petalism**, a sentence of banishment at Syracuse, IV. 87
- Petra**, a strong city in the Nabathene Arabia, VIII. 196
- Peucestes**, one of Alexander's captains at the siege of Oxydracæ, VII. 33. the province of Persia his lot, he drives Python out of Media, 164
- Pbalanx** of Macedon, VII. 15
- Pbalaris**, his bull, II. 22
- Pbanes**, general of the Greek auxiliaries to Amasis, goes over to Cambyses: his children are killed in revenge, II. 234
- Pbarob**. See the kings of Egypt.
- Pbaros**, tower, I. 26
- Pbarises**, sect, XI. 192
- Pbarabaxus**, general to Darius and Artaxerxes, aids the Spartans against the Athenians, IV. 253. he carries the war into Egypt, which miscarries through his fault, VI. 257
- Pbaraces**, king of Pontus, at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus, X. 161
- Pbaraces**, son of Mithridates, last king of Pontus, XII. 414, 417. he is defeated by Cæsar near Zela in Pontus, 143
- Pbarsalus**, Pharsalian plains, where the Pompeians were defeated, III. 4
- Pbasæl**, brother of Herod, made governor of Jerusalem, being taken by the Parthians and put in irons, he kills himself, XI. 238, 239
- Pbasælis**, in Pamphylia, VII. 133
- Pbayllus**, general of the Phœceans, plunders the temple of Delphos, VII. 26

- Pbaylus*, of Crotona, true Grecian, VII. 228
- Pbebidas*, seizes the citadel of Thebes by fraud, VI. 186
- Pbedima*, wife of Smerdis the Magian, discovers the imposture, II. 246. and after his death marries Darius, III. 226
- Pbenitia*, province of Syria, II. 54. drives out the Persians, VI. 290. but submits, 293
- Pbenix*, fabulous bird, I. 23
- Pherendates*, viceroy of Egypt for Oehus, VI. 296
- Pbidias*, the statuary, used ungratefully by the Athenians, IV. 47, 67
- Pbila*, Antipater's daughter, wife to Cratekus, and after to Demetrius Poliorcetes, VIII. 125. deprest with grief she kills herself, 267
- Pbilaxmon*, murders Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philopater, IX. 181. for which he is beat to death, 277
- Pbilemon*, poet, VI. 59
- Pbilenian altars*, their meaning, L. 137
- Pbileteres*; eunuch, founded the kingdom of Pergamus, VIII. 92. IX. 47
- Pbiledas*, one of the conspirators against the tyrants of Thebes; makes himself their secretary: on the day fixed he gives them a supper, and they are killed at his house, VI. 193 to 198
- Philip*, son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia: his birth, actions, history and death, VII. 1 to 98
- Philip II.* son of Cassander, king of Macedon, VIII. 235
- Philip III.* a minor, king of Macedonia, son of Demetrius, under the guardianship of Antigonus Doson, IX. 80. his actions and cruelties, till he dies with grief for putting to death one of his own sons, IX. 182, to 197 of Vol. X.
- Philip*, pretended son of Perseus, defeated and killed by Tremellius, XI. 83
- Philip*, one of Alexander's captains; his provinces, VIII. 106
- Philip*, and his brother Antiochus, destroy the city of Mopsuestia, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, XI. 199. he reigns in Syria with his brother Demetrius, after driving out Eusebes: his death, 202
- Philip*

- Philip*, Phrygian, made governor of Judea by Epiphanes, X. 212
- Philip*, favorite of Antiochus Epiphanes, is made guardian to his son Antiochus Eupator, and regent of Syria, X. 243. Lysias usurps that office, and Philip retires to Egypt, XI. 124
- Philip*, physician, who cured Alexander, VII. 139
- Philippi*, in East Macedonia, near which Brutus and Cassius were defeated, VII. 120
- Philipsburg* in Germany, X. 120
- Philestus*, sent by Artaxerxes to reconcile the Greeks, VI. 224
- Philestus*, the historian of Syracuse, pays a fine for Dionyfius, VI. 74. he is banisht, 112. recalled, 125. killed, 145
- Philectes*, Macedonian, sent envoy to Rome ; he returns with a forged letter, which occasions the death of Demetrius, X. 190, 192
- Philectes*, Athenian general, made prisoner by Lysander at the battel of Egos, is put to death, IV. 283
- Philemelus*, general of the Phoeceans plunders the temple of Delphos : having lost a battel, he throws himself headlong from the top of a rock, VII. 21, 23
- Philopæmen*, his education and great character, IX. 234. being appointed captain general of the Acheans, he defeats and kills Machanidas, 262. for which he hath a statue and other honors : he is beat by Nabis at sea, but beats him near Sparta, X. 50. he subdues Sparta, and reinstates the exiles, 114 to 117. he attacks Messene, where he is taken prisoner and put to death, 148
- Philosophy*, incompatible with slavery, IV. 89. and requisite for forming the hero, VI. 248
- Philotas*, son of Parmenio, horse officer to Alexander, VII. 122. the pretended conspiracy for which he is put to death, 265
- Philotas*, put to death by Piton, VIII. 164
- Philoxenus*, poet, VI. 109
- Phoecea*, city of Ionia, its history, XI. 77, 169
- Phocis*, part of Greece : the Lacedemonians take from it the custody of the temple of Delphos, and Pericles restores it, IV. 57. the Phoeceans ploughing up the ground

- ground consecrated to Apollo, are charged with sacrilege and fined, which causes the sacred war, VII. 21
- Phocion*, Athenian general, drives Philip out of Eubea, and makes him raise the siege of Perinthos and Byzantium, VII. 55, 62. he endeavors to prevent the Lamian war, VIII. 110. he is basely condemned and poisoned by the Athenians, his body is carried beyond the territory of Attica, 147, 149. the Athenians erect a statue for him, and inter his bones honorably, 154. praise of Phocion, VIII. 32, 151
- Phraates I.* son of Priapatius, king of Parthia, XI. 245
- Phraates II.* succeeds his father Mithridates as king of Parthia, XI. 245. he is thrice defeated by Antiochus Sidetes, who is soon after overpowered and slain, 174, 175. in a quarrel with the Scythians Phraates is betrayed by the Greeks, defeated, and killed in the pursuit, 176
- Phraates III.* surnamed *Theos*, king of Parthia; he takes the part of Tigranes the younger: he is killed by his own children, XI. 246
- Phraates IV.* is nominated king by his father Orodes; he puts his father, his brothers, and his own son to death, XI. 278
- Phraortes*, king of Media succeeds his father Dejoces: he subdues Upper Asia, but in a battle with the Assyrians he is routed. Nebucadnezar puts him to death. He is the Arphaxad in Judith, II. 105
- Pherapernes*, one of Alexander's generals: provinces in his lot, VIII. 106
- Pbyrynen*, slain in a duel by Pittacus, III. 84
- Phylus*, brave officer, killed in defending Sparta, IX. 34
- Physton*. See *Ptolemy Evergetes*.
- Physic*, its origin, II. 292
- Phyto*, defends Rhegium against Dionysius, who in revenge puts him and his son to death, VI. 103
- Pindar*, poet, IV. 81, 83
- Piraeus*, harbor of Athens, III. 278
- Pisander*, Athenian, persuades the people to recall Alcibiades, and change the form of government, IV. 246
- Pisander*,

Pisander, Macedonian, commands the fleet; is defeated and killed at Cnidos, V. 101

Pisistratus, usurps the sovereignty at Athens, lenity of his government; his character, death, and library, III. 61 to 64
Piso commands at the siege of Carthage till the arrival of Scipio, II. 13
Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia revolts against Darius; he is taken and put to death, IV. 149

Pitbon, made governor of Media by Antipater, VIII. 138. destroys Philotas; is driven out of Media by Peucestes, 164. and put to death by Antigonus, 184

Pittacus, of Mytilene, one of the seven sages of Greece, restores the liberty of Lesbos: he challenges Phrynon to duel and kills him: the people vote him the sovereignty, which at ten years end he generously gives up and retires, III. 83, 84

Platea, city of Beotia near Thebes. The Plateans acquire glory at the battle of Marathon, III. 192. the prize of valor is given to

them after the battle of Platea, 265. they institute a yearly festival in honor of those who died in the battle, 268. siege of Platea by the Thebans, IV. 100. Platea taken by the Lacedemonians, and destroyed by the Thebans, 137. VI. 206. The Plateans retire to Athens, and induce Alexander to destroy Thebes, VII. 113. who desires the Plateans to rebuild their city, 228

Plato retires to Megara from the rage of the Athenians, V. 184. he travels into Sicily and Egypt, 225 his friendship with Dion, VI. 91. he goes a second time to the court of Dionysius, 125. he returns to Greece, and goes a third time to Sicily, 129, 133

Plistonax, king of Sparta, IV. 161. his death, 265
Plutarch, of Eretria, calls in the Athenians to aid Eubea against Philip: he revolts, and is drove out of Eretria by Phocion, VII.

53, 55
Poets, and Poetry, III. 71.
 Prizes of wit and poetry, VI. 31, 33. dramatic and satyric, 35, 36

- Polemark*, magistrate at Athens, III. 186, V. 227
- Polybius*, Greek historian : his function when young at the funeral of Philopæmen, X. 151. he is appointed envoy to Egypt, 162. the Achæans make him general of horse, 295. he is sent to the consul *Marcius*, and saves the Achæans a considerable expense, 297, 302. he is included in the number of exiles, and carried to Rome, XI. 64. his friendship with Scipio *Æmilianus*, II. 27, 31. he returns to Achæa, and defends Philopæmen's memory, XI. 99. he goes to Scipio at Rome, and accompanies him at the siege of Numantia : after Scipio's death he returns home and dies, 101.
- Polybius*, officer in the Achæan army, IX. 262
- Polycrates*, tyrant of Samos, happy and successful in all things, yet comes to be hanged, II. 241
- Polycrates*, first minister of Ptolemy Epiphanes, X. 132
- Polydamas*, famous Athlēt ; his great strength, VI. 11
- Polyphron*, tyrant of Pheræ, kills his brother Polydor,
- and is killed by Alexander of Pheræ, VI. 228
- Polypercon*, one of Alexander's generals reduces a country called Lubacene, VII. 299. he ridicules a Persian for prostrating himself to Alexander, for which he is confined, but pardoned, 303. he takes Ora, 313. he is made regent of Macedonia by Antipater, VIII. 143. and driven out of Macedonia by Cassander : he causes Hercules the son of Alexander, and his mother Barsina to be destroyed, 158, 169, 198
- Polystratus*, receives the dying words of Darius, VII. 248
- Polyxenides*, admiral to Antiochus the Great, is beat by Livius, X. 75. he defeats Pausistratus, and is defeated by Rhegillus, 79, 81
- Pompey*, succeeds Lucullus in the war against Mithridates, XII. 96. he gains several victories, and marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who surrenders to him, 101 to 104. he pursues Mithridates, and in his way subjects the Albanians and Iberians, 106. tired of following Mithridates,

dates, he takes possession of Syria, and puts an end to the Seleucides empire, 108. twelve kings wait on him at Damascus, 109. he marches to Pontus, and returns into Syria, 110, 111. his expedition to Arabia and Judea : he takes Jerusalem ; he enters the temple, and the Holy of Holies ; and orders the city walls to be demolished, XI. 232 to 237. he reduces all Pontus and takes immense plunder : he gives Pharnaces the Cimmerian Bosporus ; and after rewarding his own soldiers, he enters Rome with extraordinary triumph, XII. 116, after losing the battle of Pharsalia he retires to Egypt, where he is murdered, 131

Pompey, Lucius, brave Roman officer in the war with Perseus, X. 293

Pontus, in Asia Minor: list of its kings, VIII. 93

Popilius is sent into Egypt to put an end to the war there: he obliges Antiochus to quit Egypt, and leave the two brother Ptolemies in possession, X. 215, 219. he is sent into Greece

to publish the senate's decree, 295

Popular government, rash and violent, III. 183. See *Multitude and Commonalty*.

Poris, his cruel fate, X. 167

Porphyry, of Tyre, a learned writer against Christianity, X. 254

Porus, defeated by Alexander, and restored to his kingdom, VII. 315 to 324

Posti and couriers, II. 209, 268

Pothinus, Ptolemy's minister, dethrones Cleopatra : he advises the death of Pompey, XII. 131. he labors to render Caesar odious ; and makes the Egyptians take arms against him, 136. Caesar puts him to death, 138

Potidea, city of Macedonia, revolts from the Athenians, but is retaken, IV. 61, 117. Philip seizes it, VII. 12

Prexaspes, servant to Cambyses, by his order kills his brother Smerdis, II. 239. he promises to declare Smerdis the Magian to be the true son of Cyrus : he speaks to the people from the top of a tower, and declares the quite contrary; then

- then throws himself down
and is killed, 246
- Prize of glory or valor*, III.
117, 264
- Proculeius*, Roman officer, ad-
vises Cleopatra to surrender
and confide in the honor of
young Cæsar, XII. 170
- Promæbus*, kills himself for
the prize of drinking, VIII.
29
- Proserpine's temple in Locris*,
plundered by Pyrrhus, IX.
26
- Prosopis*, island in the Delta of
Egypt, IV. 21
- Protagoras*, brother of Nico-
cles, expels Evagoras from
Cyprus, and reigns in Sa-
lamis, VI. 290. confirmed
by Ochus, 294
- Protagoras*, of Abdera, his
opinion about Atheism,
IV. 192
- Protagenes*, famous painter du-
ring the siege of Rhodes,
VIII. 237
- Providence*. Socrates upon God
and Providence, V. 151
- Proxenes*, officer in the army
of young Cyrus, V. 25.
seized by treachery and put
to death: his character, 47
- Prusias I.* VIII. 91
- Prusias II.* king of Bithynia,
joins the Romans against
Antiochus, X. 80. he is at
war with Eumenes, 154.
- services done him by Han-
nibal in that war, notwithstanding
which Prusias agrees to deliver him up to
the Romans, 291. he de-
fires the Romans to grant
Perseus a peace, 303. his
abject behaviour in the Se-
nate, XI. 68. war of Prusias
with Attalus: the senate
obliges him to desist, and
make satisfaction, 72. Pru-
sias intending to put his son
Nicomedes to death, is
killed by him, 75
- Psmenitus*, king of Egypt,
is conquered by Cambyses
and used with clemency;
but striving to regain the
throne, he is put to death,
I. 102. II. 235
- Psmicticus*, one of the twelve
kings in Egypt is banished:
after which he defeats the
other eleven and remains
sole monarch, I. 86. he
makes war with the king of
Assyria and takes Azotus
after a siege of twenty-nine
years, 87
- Psoibis*, in Arcadia, IX. 194
- Ptolemy*, son of Amyntas II.
disputes the crown with his
brother Perdiccas, VI. 229.
- Ptolemy*, son of Seleucus,
killed at Ipsus battel, VII.
155
- Pto-*

Ptolemy I. surnamed *Soter*, son of Lagus, one of Alexander's generals, wounded at a siege, VIII. 18. provinces allotted him, 105. he causes the corpse of Alexander to be nobly deposited at Alexandria, 129. he makes himself master of Syria, Phenicia, and Judea, 141. he forms a league against Antigonus, seizes the island of Cyprus, defeats Demetrius, and makes himself master of Tyre, 184 to 191. one of his generals is beat, and he himself is defeated by Demetrius, and loses Cyprus, 201, 215. he takes the title of king of Egypt, 216. he sends aid to the Rhodians, who in gratitude give him the title of *Soter*, 236. Ptolemy and three others divide the empire of Alexander among them, 248. he retakes the island of Cyprus, 258, and resigns the throne to his son, 271. his library, 274. his death and praise, 278.

Ptolemy II. surnamed *Philadelphus*, succeeds his father as king of Egypt: feast which he gives thereon, VIII. 279. he causes the holy Scripture to be turned

into Greek, 310. his liberality to the Roman ambassadors, IX. 42. he helps the Athenians besieged by Antigonus, 45. revolt of Magas; he comes to an agreement with Magas and Antiochus, 52, 55. death and character of Ptolemy, 61, 62

Ptolemy III. surnamed *Evergetes*, succeeds his father Philadelphus, IX. 61. for the murder of his sister Berenice he puts Laodice to death, and seizes part of Syria, 68. in his return he sacrifices at Jerusalem, 70. he augments the library of Alexandria, and is bountiful to Joseph, the nephew of Onias, 76, 79. his liberality to the Rhodians, and his death, 253

Ptolemy IV. called *Philopator*, king of Egypt after his father Evergetes, IX. 157.

Antiochus the Great makes war upon Ptolemy, but is defeated at Raphia, 174. Ptolemy comes to Jerusalem, and is enraged with the Jews for refusing to let him enter the sanctuary, 176. he gives himself up to all manner of excess, and puts his wife and sister Arsinoe to death, 180. his base-

baseness to Cleomenes, 188. he dies worn out with wickedness, 274
Ptolemy V., called *Epiphanes*, at five years old succeeds his father Philopator. Antiochus and Philip agree to share his dominions, IX. 276, 278. The Romans take his part, and appoint Aristomenes to be his guardian, 286. he is declared of age, and soon after puts Aristomenes to death, X. 28, and 131. he marries Cleopatra daughter of Antiochus, 46. he abandons himself to all the vices of his father, 132. till the people tired with oppression and cruelty resolve to depose him, and at last he is poisoned by the principal person of his court, 162
Ptolemy VI. called *Philometor*, at six years old succeeds his father Epiphanes, X. 162. he is crowned, 205. he loses two battels with Antiochus, and is taken prisoner, 209. he is replaced; but his brother Physcon and he reign together, 216. till Physcon dethrones him, XI. 120. on which he goes to the senate of Rome with his

complaint: the Romans divide the kingdom of Egypt between the two brothers; new differences arising, Philometor gains a victory over Physcon, takes him prisoner, and pardons him, 130 to 134. he permits the Jews to build a temple in Egypt, 145. Ammonius conspires against Ptolemy, and upon the refusal of Alexander to deliver up that traitor, Ptolemy takes his daughter from him, gives her to Demetrius, whom he assists in reascending his father's throne, 147. and then dies, 148
Ptolemy VII. surnamed *Evergetes* and *Physcon*, second son of Ptolemy Epiphanes, at first reigns jointly with his elder brother Philometor, X. 212, 216. Physcon expels Philometor, but the Romans divide the kingdom between them, XI. 130, 131. Physcon, dissatisfied goes to Rome, to be put in possession of Cyprus, which is given to him by the senate, 132. Philometor beats and takes him prisoner, but generously restores him, 134. Physcon marries Cleopatra, his brother's

ther's widow, and puts his brother's son to death, 149. Physcon's folly, debauchery and description, 161, 165. he puts away Cleopatra, and marries a daughter of hers by Philometor, named also Cleopatra, 178. his horrible cruelties cause a general revolt, which he has the good luck to overcome, and dies in his bed, 178 to 185

Ptolemy VIII. named Lathyrus succeeds his father Physcon XI. 186. he aids Antiochus of Cyzicium against John Hyrcanus, 189. Cleopatra takes her daughter from Lathyrus, obliges him to quit Egypt, and be content with Cyprus, 193. he goes in person against Alexander king of the Jews, over whom he gains a great victory near the Jordan, 194. he makes a vain attempt against Egypt, but is recalled by the Alexandrians, and replaced on the throne, 197. a rebellion rising against him, he destroys Thebes, whither the rebels had retired, and dies soon after, 202. By the custom of this house, all the sons were named Pto-

my, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Ptolemy IX. king of Egypt. See Alexander, son of Physcon.

Ptolemy X. king of Egypt, son of Alexander I. See Alexander II.

Ptolemy XI. surnamed Auletes, king of Egypt, XI. 212. for a great sum of money he is declared friend and ally of the Romans, XII. 119. he is dethroned, and his daughter put in his place, 120. he goes to Rome, and with money gets himself reinstated, 121. he causes most of the ambassadors to be murdered who were sent to Rome by the Egyptians to justify their revolt, 122. notwithstanding the Sybils oracle Gabinius replaces him on the throne, 122 to 128. Ptolemy puts his daughter Berenice to death : his ingratitude and perfidy to Rabirius, and death, 128 to 130

Ptolemy XII. son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns in Egypt with his sister Cleopatra; he expels her, and causes Pompey to be murdered, who fled to him for safety, XIII. 131. Caesar judges between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, H.h

- patra, 134. he secures the person of Ptolemy, 135. and releases him, 140. Ptolemy renewes the war against Cæsar; he is defeated and drowned in the Nile, 142
- Ptolemy I. king of Cyprus, brother to Auletes, is deposed by the Romans, XI. 217. and poisons himself, 219
- Ptolemy II. son of Auletes, is made king of Cyprus by Cæsar, XII. 136. also of Egypt jointly with Cleopatra, 142. she poisons Ptolemy, 144
- Ptolemy, son of Antony and Cleopatra, made king of Syria by Antony, XIV. 155
- Ptolemy Apion, natural son of Physcon, is made king of Cyrenica, XI. 186. he leaves his kingdom by will to the Romans, 198
- Ptolemy Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy Soter, quits the court and retires to Lysimachus, then to Seleucus, VIII. 272. whom he assassinates, and seizes his dominions, 299. he marries his sister Arsinoe, widow of Lysimachus, and causes his two children by her to be murdered, 300, 302. he banishes her, and is soon af-
- ter killed in battel by the Gauls, 303
- Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cyprus for Ptolemy Philometor, revolts and gives the possession of it to Antiochus Epiphanes, who makes him governor of Palestine, X. 209. he goes against the Jews, and is defeated by Judas Macabeus, 236. he becomes a friend to the Jews: Antiochus Eupator deprives him, and he in despair poisons himself, 125
- Ptolemy, son of Pyrrhus, killed in a battel with the Lacedemonians, IX. 36
- Ptolemy, one of Philip's officers joins with Apelles in a plot, for which he is put to death, IX. 209, 214
- Ptolemy, astronomer, VIII. 218
- Pulcher, the consul, is entirely defeated at sea by Adherbal the Carthaginian, near Drepanum, I. 196
- Punic: origin of the word, I. 104
- Purple of Hermione, its high price, VII. 234
- Pydna, in Macedonia, seized by Philip, VI. 11. and where Perseus was defeated by Paulus Aemilius, XI. 22 to 29

By

- Pyllos*, in Messenia, taken by the Athenians, IV. 138
- Pyramids*, in Egypt, I. 7, 78, 80
- Pyrates of Lipara*, VI. 164
- Pyrribas*, Etolian general, twice beat by Philip, IX. 231
- Pyrrhus*, son of Æacides king of Epirus, his beginning and history: he marries Antigone, daughter of Ptolemy and Berenice, VIII. 255. he takes Macedonia from Demetrius, and is declared king, 262. but is soon obliged to quit it, 267. the Tarentines call in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans: he goes to Italy, and defeats the consul Levinus, IX. 1 to 8. his conversation with Fabricius, from whom he gains a very hard battel, 13 to 21. his actions in Sicily, 22. I. 275. he returns into Italy, and plunders the temple of Proserpin, IX. 25. he is defeated at Beneventum by the consul Curius, and returns to Epirus, 27. he defeats Antigonus in Macedonia, 29. he marches into Greece; besieges Sparta, and is killed at the siege of Argos; his good and bad character, 31 to 40. VIII. 263
- Pythagoras*, Lacedemonian, commander in the fleet of young Cyrus, V. 25
- Pythagoras*, son of Evagoras, king of Salamis, V. 116
- Pythagoras*, philosopher; his doctrine of transmigration, II. 305. he opens a school at Croton, IV. 89
- Pytharcus of Cyzicum*, II. 274
- Pythæas*, put to death by Mætellus, XI. 93
- Pythæas*, astronomer, XI. 81
- Pythias and Damon*, VI. 117
- Pythia*, priestess of Apollo at Delphos, V. 283
- Pythian games*, VI. 3
- Pythius*, Lydian prince, generous offer which he makes to Xerxes of his money; the monstrous cruelty and baseness of Xerxes, III. 212, 214
- Python*, orator, sent envoy by Philip to the Thebans, VII. 74
- Q.
- Quintus Curtius*, VII. 10. in the Preface.
- Quoit*, or Discus, VI. 14

R.

Rabirius, demands of Ptolemy Auletes the sum he lent him at Rome, but is used basely. *Rabirius* is accused at Rome of assisting Ptolemy to corrupt the senate; Cicero takes his defense. *XII. 129.*

Races, horse, foot, and chariot. *VI. 15.*

Ragau, the plain where Nebuchadnezar routed Phraortes. *II. 106.*

Rameses, king of Egypt, makes great slaves of the Israelites. *I. 68.*

Rammius, of Brundisium, ordered by Perseus to poison Eumenes, accepts the order but discovers it. *X. 266.*

Rapbia, in Palestina, where Antiochus the Great was defeated by Ptolemy Philopator. *IX. 175.*

Reason, stronger than mere eloquence. *VII. 53.*

Redsea, Israelites passing it quoted by Diodorus. *I. 69.*

Reflexions on the Persians, Greeks and Macedonians. *VIII. 76.* on the laws of Sparta, *III. 35.* on the Romans. *X. 106.*

Regulus, consul, gains a naval victory over the Car-

thaginians, *I. 182.* He continues proconsul in Africa; defeats the Carthaginians, and takes Tunis, *184.* Puffed up with success he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, *188.* who send him to Rome to propose the exchange of prisoners, *192.* Remark on the story of Regulus.

Religion, by Plutarch, *I. 111.* often covers the most wicked designs, *II. 301.* its origin, *V. 268.*

Retreat of the 10,000, *V. 49.*

Rhadamanthus, brother of Minos, *V. 209.*

Rbaga, city, *VII. 247.*

Rhegium, in Sicily, *VI. 86.* insolent answer and refusal given to Dionysius, *89.* he besieges it out of revenge, and uses it cruelly, *103.* a Roman legion settles there, after driving out the inhabitants; but suffer severely for it afterwards, *I. 177.*

Rheomithras, his treachery, *VI. 265.*

Rhodes, island and city of of Lesser Asia takes arms against Athens, *VI. 274.* it is declared free, but is subjected by Mausolus king of Caria, *286.* they make war

- war with his widow Artemisia, 287, 289. Demetrius besieges their city: they obtain an honorable peace, and erect the famous Colossus; their impious flattery of Ptolemy, who assisted them during the siege, VIII. 219 to 239. Great earthquake at Rhodes: emulation of the neighboring princes in contributing to that city, IX. 153. XI. 307. war between the Rhodians and Byzantines, IX. 168. between them and Philip, 279. they defeat Hannibal at sea, X. 79. their dispute with Eumenes before the Roman senate concerning the Grecian cities of Asia, 400. they deny aid to Perseus, 275. they send deputies to Rome and the Roman army, who speak too boldly in favor of Perseus, 303. XI. 18. they send other deputies to Rome to appease the senate, 54. after much solicitation they prevail to be admitted allies and friends to the Roman people, 59
- Rhegillus, Aemilius, envoy from the Romans to Philip who besieged Abydos,
- IX. 285. is appointed guardian to Ptolemy Epiphanes, 286. he commands the Roman fleet, X. 77. and joins the Rhodians to aid Eumenes, 79. he defeats Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, 81. and obtains a triumph, 105
- Rhone, river, Passage there by Hannibal, I. 224.
- Ricbelieu, cardinal, a pretender to poetry, VI. 107
- Riches, utterly despised by the Scythians, III. 145
- Roman triumphs, VI. 29
- Roman proclamation to the states of Greece, X. 19. their after conduct with respect to Greece, 159
- Roman declension, X. 105
- Roman policy and dominion, a short treatise, X. 106
- Roman government, best of of any, especially while a republic, XI. 212 to 217
- Rosaces, governor of Ionia and Lydia, one of Ochus's generals against Nectanebis in Egypt: he strikes a furious blow upon Alexander's head at the battel of the Granicus, VI. 295. VII. 127
- Rivers, described, V. 225
- Roxana, sister of Statira; her tragical end, V. 4

Roxana, daughter of Oxar-
artes, wife to Alexander,
VII. 299. after his death
she causes Statira, his wi-
dow also to be put to death
with Drypetis, Hephestion's
widow, VIII. 108. Cas-
sander secures her and her
son *Alexander*, and soon
after puts them to death,
168, 198.
Roxana, sister of Mithrida-
tes Eupator, dies by poi-
son, XII. 72.

S.

Sabaco, king of Ethiopia
conquers Egypt; at the
end of fifty years he
retires voluntarily into
Ethiopia, I. 82.
Sabeans, idolators, II. 306.
Sabracæ, Indians, VI. 362.
Sacæ, Assyrians, II. 158.
Sacæ, Scythians, VII. 285,
298.

Sacred battalion of Thebans,
VI. 205, 211. VII. 74.
Sacred war in Greece, VII. 21.
Sadducee, sect, XI. 192.
Sages, seven wise men of
Greece, III. 81.

Saguntum, in Spain, I. 219.
Salamis, capital of Cyprus,
built by Teucer of Salamis,
V. 183. barrel there,
VIII. 213.
Salamis, island on the west

of Athens, famous for the
seafight between Xerxes
and the Greeks, III. 5,
243.

Salmanazar, king of Nine-
veh, takes Samaria, and
destroys the kingdom of
Israel, II. 82.

Samaria, capital of the king-
dom of Israel; enmity
between Samaritans and
Jews, II. 86. they oppose
rebuilding the temple, 213,
245. III. 135. originally
named *Cuthæi*; they sub-
mit to Alexander, VII.
193. they cannot obtain
such privileges as the Jews,
202. they mutiny, and are
expelled Samaria, 212.
they conform to the reli-
gion of Antiochus Epipha-
nes, X. 223. destruction of
Samaria by Hyrcanus, XI.

190

Same, in Cephalenia, X. 113.
Samos, island and city of Io-
nia, III. 18. taken and
destroyed by the Athenians,
IV. 58. Lysander re-
stores it, 286. extravagant
flattery of the Samians,

V. 18

Samotracæ, island near the
Helleipont, XI. 31, 33.
Sandrocotta, possesses all the
provinces of India which
Alexander had conquered;
Selucus

INDEX.

xxvii

- Seleucus thinks to drive him out, but is greatly mistaken, VIII. 241
- Sappho, poetess, III. 80
- Saracus, king of Assyria, slain at Nineveh, II. 88, 108
- Sardinia, subject to the Carthaginians, I. 137. ceded to the Romans, 213
- Sardanapalus, II. 77
- Sardis, in Lydia, taken by Cyrus, II. 177. taken and burnt by the Athenians, which proves the source of all the Grecian calamities, III. 169. submits to Alexander, VII. 129. taken by Seleucus, VIII. 298. Antiochus Soter routed by Eumenes, IX. 49
- Saturn, Pagan Deity, I. 107
- Scarpbia, city where Metellus beat the Achaeans, XI. 92
- Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant reduces Syria, XII. 108
- Scaurus, *Aemilius*, bribed by Jugurtha, II. 40
- Scenical games, VII. 120
- Scepsis, near Pergamus in Lesser Asia, XII. 38
- Scerdilides, king of Illyria, IX. 97, he joins the Achaeans against the Etolians, and is included in their treaty with the Romans, IX. 192, 229
- Scipio, *Publius*, marches against Hannibal, and is defeated near Ticinum, I. 233. he is sent into Spain, and joins his brother *Cneus Scipio*, 249. they make a great progress, 259. they divide their troops, and *Cneus* is killed, 263
- Scipio *Cneus*, is sent by his brother into Spain against *Afribul*, I. 223
- Scipio, *Publius Cornelius*, surnamed *Africanus*, subdues all Spain, I. 268. he goes as consul to *Afrita*; has an interview with Hannibal, and gains a great victory, which ends in a peace, 272. he confers with Hannibal at Ephesus, 287. X. 47. he serves as lieutenant to his brother, *Lucius* in the war with Antiochus, whose offers he rejects, 86. death of Scipio, I. 293
- Scipio, *Lucius Cornelius*, surnamed *Asiacus*, charged with the war against Antiochus, X. 77. whom he defeats at mount Sipylus near Magnesia, 92. he triumphs, 105
- Scipio, *Nasica*, son in law to Scipio Africanus, executes an important commission from Paulus *Aemilius*, XI. 10.

- XI. 20. he drives Andrius out of Thessaly, 86.
 his opinion of Carthage, I. 301. II. 3
- Scipio, Africanus*, the younger, or more properly *Scipio Aemilianus*, distinguishes himself during the siege at Carthage, II. 11. he returns to Rome and is chose consul; after which he destroys Carthage, 13 to 20. he is sent into Egypt, Syria and Greece, and distributes his noble presents among the officers, XI. 164, 173. character and praise of Scipio, II. 26
- Scopas* commands the Etolians against the Achaeans, IX. 186. he ravages Macedonia, 193. and brings the former into alliance with the Romans, 227. he goes into the service of Ptolemy Epaphanes, and retakes Judea, 301. he is defeated by Antiochus at Paneas, and surrenders prisoner of war at Sidon, 302. he conspires against Ptolemy and is put to death, X. 27
- Scorpion*, war machine, XII. 4
- Scotus*, in Thrace, III. 4
- Scotus*, battel in Thessaly, X. 8 to 13
- Scylax*, commands the fleet of Darius to make discoveries, III. 163
- Scylurus*, king of Scythia recommends unity to his children, III. 147
- Scyros*, island: the tomb of Theseus, IV. 17
- Scytale*, or Spartan thong, III. 36
- Scythians*, their high antiquity, I. 88. they overrun Upper Asia, and at the end of twentyeight years are destroyed by a general massacre, II. 107. Darius marches to subdue them, but they treat him with scorn, and ravage Thrace, III. 151. they send embassadors to Alexander, who speak with extraordinary freedom, but are defeated, VII. 281. they make war with Phraates, defeat him and plunder his country, XI. 176. The Scythians according to Herodotus, III. 142. according to Justin, 145. how luxury got among them, 150
- Syphopolis*, in Palestine, II. 107
- Sebastus*, or new Samaria, XI. 190
- Segesta*, in Sicily, I. 147. IV. 176
- Selasia*, town of Laconia, where Cleomenes was finally defeated

- defeated by Antigonus, IX. 143
- Selena*, by compulsion marries her brother Lathyrus, XI. 186. Cleopatra makes her quit Lathyrus and marry Grypus ; after whose death she marries Antiochus Eusebes, 193, 200. he losing his dominions, she keeps Ptolemais, with part of Phenicia and Celestria, and reigns there many years, 202. she sends her two sons to the senate of Rome to solicit for the crown of Egypt, 204
- Selucia*, in Syria, VIII. 253. and *Sicukia* on the Tigris, 261. both built by Seleucus Nicator,
- Seleucidae*, noted *Aera*, VIII. 194. end of their empire, XII. 109
- Seleucus Nicator*, commands all the cavalry after the death of Alexander, VIII. 105. gets the government of Babylon, 138. he forms a league against Antigonus, and takes the title of king of Babylon, 216. his expedition into India : league between him, Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus against Antigonus and Demetrius : Seleucus commands the army and gains the victory of Ipsus, 240 to 247. they four divide the empire of Alexander, 248. Seleucus builds several cities, makes an alliance with Demetrius and quarrels with him, 251, 254. he forms a league against Demetrius, whom he compels to surrender, 270. he gives his wife and part of his dominions to his own son Antiochus, 295. he makes war with Lysimachus, defeats him and gets all his dominions : he is assassinated by Ceraunus, whom he had loaded with favors ; character of Seleucus, 298
- Seleucus Calinicus*, king of Syria after his father Antiochus Theos, IX. 66. he unites with his brother Antiochus Hierax against Ptolemy : war between the two brothers, 73, 74. Seleucus marches against Ar-saces, is routed and made prisoner, 77. his death, 82
- Seleucus Ceraunus*, succeeds his father Calinicus ; he is poisoned by two of his principal officers, IX. 157
- Seleucus Philepator*, is left by his father Antiochus the Great to govern Syria in his absence, X. 123. He ascends

INDEX.

- ascends the throne of Syria, 129. he sends Heliodorus to Jerusalem to bring away its treasure, 197. Heliodorus destroys him by poison, 201
- S**eleucus, the son of Demetrius Nicator, makes himself king of Syria; he is murdered by his mother Cleopatra, XL. 182
- Seleucus, eldest son of Antiochus Grypus king of Syria, succeeds him; he supports himself against Antiochus Cyzicus; he is dethroned by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia, XI. 198
- Seleucus Cybiosatæs, son of Eusebes and Selena, solicits the Roman senate for his mother, XI. 204. he accepts Berenice and the crown of Egypt: he renders himself odious, and by Berenice's order is strangled, XII. 127
- Seleucus, governor of Pelusium for Cleopatra, surrenders it to young Cæsar, XII. 166
- Selinuntum, in Sicily, taken by Hannibal Gisgo, I. 147
- Semiramis, queen of Assyria, her history, II. 58, 63 to 74, and 79
- Sempronius, routed by Hannibal near Trebia, I. 235
- Senate, of Carthage, I. 183. of Sparta, III. 23. of Athens, V. 221. of Rome, called by Cineas, an assembly of kings, IX. 11
- Senaar, Skinar plain where Babylon stood, II. 296
- Sennacherib, king of Nineveh reduces Jerusalem to extremity: his army is destroyed by an angel, and he murdered by his own children, I. 83, 85. Sethon is called Sennacherib by Herodotus, I. 83
- Septimus, officer to Ptolemy, murders Pompey, XII. 132
- Septuagint, version, VIII. 312
- Serapis, idol, and Serapion, Library, VIII. 273
- Serbo, lake and district in Egypt, XII. 127
- Soron, general to Antiochus, is defeated and slain by Judas Macabeus, X. 233
- Sertorius, Roman general, treats with Mithridates, XII. 61
- Servilius, proconsul, killed in the battel of Cannæ, I. 250, 253
- Sesostris, king of Egypt, greater than Alexander, I. 70 to 76
- Sethon, king of Egypt, and highpriest of Vulcan, I. 82
- Seuthes, prince of Thrace, replaced by Xenophon, V. 60
- Scep-

INDEX.

- Shepherds, farmers and workmen, I. 51
 Ship. See Naval force.
 Skip, very large, built by Ptolemy Philometor, VIII. 262
 Sicanians, Spaniards settled in Sicily, I. 151. IV. 175
 Sicily, description of it, I. 142. its antient inhabitants, IV. 175. See Syracuse
 Sicyon, city, the first kingdom of Greece, III. 10. freed from tyranny and united to the Achean league by Aratus, IX. 83
 Sidon, in Phenicia : dreadful ruin of that city by Ochus, VI. 293. submits to Alexander, VII. 166
 Signals by fire, IX. 247
 Simon, the Just, highpriest of the Jews, VIII. 251. his death, 261
 Simon, son of Matathias, X. 225. being general in the room of his brother Jonathan; he marches against Tryphon, XI. 154. he is made highpriest and prince of Judea, 156. and renewes friendship with the Romans, 161. death of Simon, 171
 Simon, keeper of the temple; his treachery, X. 198
 Simonides, Greek poet, his answer to Hiero what God was, IV. 82. his providential escape, VI. 27
 Sinope, in Paphlagonia, XII. 77
 Sizylus, mount, and battel, near Magnesia, X. 87
 Siris, river, where Pyrrhus defeated the consul Levinius, IX. 7
 Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, first king of Corinth, III. 15
 Sitacles, king of Odrysia in Thrace, IV. 109
 Slavery, III. 221. incompatible with the study of philosophy, IV. 89. the highest price paid for it cannot reconcile freemen to it, VII. 264. the fate of those who once submit to it, IX. 140. X. 159, 161
 Smerdis, Tanaoxares, second son of Cyrus, II. 221. his brother Cambyses puts him to death, 238
 Smerdis, the Magian, passes for the son of Cyrus; his imposture is discovered, and he killed, II. 245. in the Scripture he is named Artaxerxes.
 Smyrna, in Eolis, III. 17
 Sobriety, excellent lesson upon it, II. 130
 Socrates, Athenian philosopher; his life, history, and death, V. 133 to 192. his gallant behaviour at the battel

- Battel of Potidea, IV. 61.
and that of Delium, 155.
his intrepidity at Athens
during the tyranny, V. 12.
Analogy between the death
of Socrates, and the pre-
ceptor of Tigranes, II. 146.
- Socrates* of Achaea, general of
the Greeks in the expedi-
tion of young Cyrus, V. 25.
he is treacherously put to
death, 47
- Socrates* dethrones his brother
Nicomedes king of Bithy-
nia, XII. 34
- Sogdiana*, province of Upper
Asia revolts from Alexan-
der, VII. 278. thirty young
noble Sogdians are con-
demned and pardoned, 285
- Sogdianus*, natural son of Longi-
mamus, kills Xerxes II.
and is king of Persia. He
kills Bagorazus, but is de-
throned by Ochus, and
stifled in ashes, IV. 147
- Sole*, city in Cilicia, X. 164
- Solar year*, as at present,
known in Egypt above two
thousand years before Christ
I. 50, 67
- Solon*, legislator of Athens,
his government and laws,
III. 49 to 60. he cannot
persuade Pisistratus to ab-
dicate the tyranny. Death
of Solon, 61, 63
- Sophis*, and Philenius write
Hannibal's life, I. 295
- Sopis*, their character V. 153
- Sophocles*, tragic poet, he dis-
putes the prize with Aeschylus,
and wins it, IV. 11. his odd death, VI. 41.
how he defended himself
against the ingratitude of
his children, 42
- Sophonisba*, Adrubar's daugh-
ter, married to Syphax.
Mefinissa having conquered
Syphax, marries Sophoni-
sa, and to prevent her be-
ing prisoner to the Romans,
is obliged to send her poi-
son, I. 298
- Soprosyne*, daughter of Dionysius,
is married to her
brother Dionysius the
younger, VI. 124
- Sosibes*, Ptolemy Philopator's
minister, causes Arsinoe
the king's sister and wife
to be murdered, IX. 181.
he advises Ptolemy not to
assist Cleomenes, but secure
his person, 183
- Sosibes*, son of the former,
guardian to Ptolemy Epi-
phanes, IX. 277
- Sosthenes*, Macedonian prince,
his skirmish with the Gauls
VIII. 304, 305
- Soskratus*, architect, builds
the tower of Pharos, VIII.
273. his artifice to pre-
serve his name, I. 27
- Soskratus*,

- Sofratus, or Sessfratus, governor of Syracuse, surrenders that city to Pyrrhus,* IX. 23
Sotades, satyric poet, his just punishment for his calumnies, IX. 45
Sous, colleague at Sparta with king Agis, III. 111
Spain, its description, I. 139. intirely conquered by the Romans, 268
Sparta, its government, V. 196. and decline, 203
Sparta, besieged by Epaminnondas, VI. 239. besieged by Pyrrhus, IX. 32, 35. Nabis besieged in Sparta by Flaminius, X. 36
Sparta battel, Philopæmen routs Nabis, X. 51
Sparta seized by the Etolians, X. 57
Spendius, causes the mercenaries to revolt, I. 204. he puts Gisgo to death, 207. he treats with the Carthaginians, is taken and hanged, 210
Speusippus, philosopher, VI. 132
Sphaeraria, island, IV. 138
Sperus, disciple of Zeno, IX. 123. helps Cleomenes in the reforming of Sparta 126
Sphodrias, Lacedemonian commander in Thesbia, VI. 201
Vol. XII. 1 i
- Spitamenes, delivers Bessus to Alexander, VII. 274. he causes a revolt, 278. his wife not prevailing with him to surrender to Alexander, kills him in the night,* 293
Spitridates, officer of Artaxerxes goes over to Agesilaus, and does him great service; but offended at the behaviour of Herippidas, he retires to Sardis, V. 91
Stadium, Greek and Roman furlong, VI. 16
Stagira, in Macedonia, Aristotle's birth place, destroyed by Philip, and rebuilt by Alexander, VII. 102
Stasicles, architect, performs Hephestion's monument, VIII. 43. he proposes to cut mount Athos into the form of a man. See Dinocrates.
Statira, wife of Artaxerxes Mnemon, her revenge for the death of her brother Teriteucmes, V. 3. she is poisoned, 67
Statira, wife of Darius Cordanus, prisoner to Alexander, VII. 157. dies in childbed, 212
Statira, eldest daughter of Darius, marries Alexander, VIII. 29. she is murdered by the intrigues of Roxana, 103
Statira,

- Satira*, sister of Mithridates, receives his orders to submit to death, which she doth with courage and dignity, XII. 72
- Sesagoras*, prince of the Thracian Chersonese, elder son of Cimon, III. 177
- Silpon*, philosopher, VIII. 206
- Stirrops*, not used antiently, V. 250
- Stratius*, physician, goes to Rome with Attalus, XI. 52
- Stratonice*, daughter of Demetrius, marries Seleucus, VIII. 253. who gives her to his son Antiochus, 295
- Stratonice*, one of the wives of Mithridates, surrenders a castle to Pompey, for which Mithridates murders her son, XII. 110
- Sulpitius*, Roman prætor, sent against Philip, IX. 229 to 233. he goes as consul into Macedonia, 288. and gains a victory over Philip at Octolophus, 295
- Sulpitius Gallus*, tribune in the army against Perseus, foretels a lunar eclipse, XI. 24. he is ordered to inspect the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus, but acts very unworthily, 70
- Surena*, general of the Parthians, gains a great victory over Crassus, XI. 256.
- Orodes, jealous of his glory, puts him to death : praise of Surena, 272
- Susa*, city in Persia, VII. 233
- Swans*, their singing, I. 24
- Sybaris*, city of Greater Greece, in Tarento gulf, its history and fate, IV. 91
- Sybota*, island by Corecyra, noted seafight between the people of Corinth and Corecyra, IV. 61
- Syeneis*, king of Cilicia, V. 26
- Sylla*, serves as questor under Marius, II. 43. he is sent to Bocchus to receive Jugurtha, and has that circumstance put in a seal, 44. he reinstates Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, XII. 32. he is charged with the war against Mithridates, 40. he takes Athens, and is victorious three times against Mithridates, and makes peace, 40 to 56. he marches against Fimbria, seizes the library of Athens and sends it to Rome, 57, 58. his excessive taxes in Asia, 57, 73
- Sylagon*, of Samos, his present to Darius, and the noble return, III. 138
- Syphax*, king of Numidia, joins the Romans and is routed by Masinissa : he marries Sophonisba, goes over

INDEX.

iv

- over to the Carthaginians, and is taken prisoner by Scipio, I. 268, 297, 298
 Syracuse battel, fatal to the Athenians, IV. 228 to 234
 Syracuse, in Sicily : description of that city : noted siege thereof by the Athenians, who are remarkably disappointed and defeated, IV. 195 to 239. its history under Dionysius father and son, VI. 69 to 183. Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse, I. 163. tis aided by Pyrrhus, 175. IX. 23. conclusion of its history, and character of its people, XI. 294 to XII. 29
- Syria, its kings, VIII. 89. reduced by Pompey into a Roman province, XI. 220
- Syphambis, mother of Darius, VII. 157. made prisoner by Alexander, after whose death she dies with grief, VII. 53
- T.
TACHOS, king of Egypt is dethroned, VI. 260
Tactics : the range or disposition of an army, II. 281. IX. 237
Talent, of Babylon, II. 70
Talent in weight, III. 217
Talibybius, Agamemnon's herald, his revenges upon the Spartans, III. 183
- Tamer**, commands the fleet of young Cyrus, V. 25
Tanagra, city of Beotia, where the Athenians defeated the Spartans, IV. 40
Tanaïs, river, mistook for Iaxartes, VII. 277. VIII. 44
Tanaquades, See Smerdis.
Tarentum, city of Italy, calls in Pyrrhus to their aid against the Romans, IX. 2
Tarsus, on the river Cydnus in Cilicia, where Alexander in bathing almost got his death, VII. 157
Taurus mount begins in Lycia and runs thro all Asia, II. 53
Taxilus, Indian king, accompanies Alexander against Porus : he is sent to persuade Porus to submit, VIII. 12. Porus is reconciled to Taxilus, VII. 316, 323
Taxilus, general to Mithridates, defeated by Sylla, XII. 45, 49
Tegæa, city of Arcadia, III. 3. quarel between that and Mantinea, VI. 239
Tegyra, in Beotia, battel between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, VI. 205
Telecles, king of Sparta, murdered by the Messenians, XI. 14
Telen.

Telutias, admiral of the Lacedemonian fleet at the siege of Corinth, V. 106. he is sent against Olynthus, and is killed in battel, VI. 189

Tennes, king of Sidon, betrays that city to Ochus, who rewards him by putting him to death, VI. 293

Tentb, given by the Greeks to the gods, III. 266

Terence, Latin poet, I. 126

Terillus, tyrant of Himera dethroned, invites the Carthaginians to invade Sicily,

IV. 75

Teriteucmes, brother of Sta-tira wife to Artaxerxes, kills his wife, and is killed himself, V. 3

Teuta, queen of Illyria, kills the Roman embassador, but makes peace with the Romans, IX. 97

Tbais, famous courtezan born in Attica, causes the palace of Persepolis to be burnt,

VII. 243

Thales of Miletus, philosopher, his reason for living single, III. 50. his character, 81

Thalestris, queen, comes far off to see Alexander, VII. 259

Tharaca, Ethiopian king of Egypt, I. 85

Tbasos, island of Thrace, revolts from the Athenians:

Cimon reduces it, IV. 16

Theano, priestess at Athens, refuses to curse Alcibiades,

IV. 192

Thearides, brother of Dionysius is sent to Olympia to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot race in his name, VI. 108

Theatre, described, VI. 59

Thebes, in Egypt, I. 4

Thebes, city of Beotia in Greece: its foundation and first kings, III. 13. the Thébans get Platea by treachery, IV. 100. they beat the Athenians near Delium, 155. they give refuge to the Athenians

who fly from the tyranny of their city, V. 13. valor of the Thebans at the battel of Coronea, 103. by the treaty of Antalcides they give the cities of Beotia their liberty, VI. 184. Thebes falls into the hands of the Lacedemonians, 187. Pelopidas reinstates its liberty, 193. they beat the Spartans near Tegyra, 205. and destroy Platea and Thespia, 206. they defeat the Lacedemonians at Leu-

Etra, 210. they ravage Laconia and advance to the gates

gates of Sparta, 216. they send Pelopidas to the court of Persia to gain its friendship, 224. they make a second attempt against Sparta, 239. and gain the battel of Mantinea, 240. they call in Philip against the Phoceans, VII. 37. and enter into an alliance to humble Sparta, 50. the Thebans join the Athenians against Philip, and are defeated at Cheronea, 74. Philip puts a garison into their city, and the Thebans after his death put part of that garison to the sword, for which Alexander destroys their city, 111, 112. Thebes is restored by Cassander, VIII. 169. makes an alliance with the Romans against Perseus, X. 274. and surrender themselves to the Romans, 292. Sylla deprives them of half their territory, XII. 50.

*I*lbe, wife to Alexander of Pheræ, obtains his permission to see Pelopidas, VI. 232. after her conversation with him she makes her three brothers assassinate her husband, 238. *T*heft of a certain kind permitted to the young Spartans, III. 30. but no crime

more severely punished among the Scythians, 145. *T*hemistocles, of Syracuse, conspiring to seize the sovereignty, is killed by order of the magistrates, XI. 323. *T*hemistocles, Athenian officer at the battel of Marathon, III. 188. he supports the decree to recal Aristides, and resigns the command of the fleet to the Lacedemonians, 227. he persuades the Athenians to abandon their city, 239. and the Greeks to fight at Salamis, 243. the Lacedemonians decree him the prize of wisdom after the victory at Salamis: acclamations for him at the Olympic games, 251. he causes Athens to be refortified, 277. his black design to supplant the Lacedemonians, 279. they and the Athenians uniting against him, as a complice with Pausanias, he is banished, and takes refuge with Admetus king of Mœlosia, 288. he retires to Artaxerxes Longimanus, and is nobly received, IV. 3. but in a great perplexity kills himself, 171 his moderation, III. 229, 246. his character, 176, 252, 288. IV. 19

- Theon*, commander of the castle at Syracuse, surrenders to Pyrrhus, who soon after puts him to death, IX. 23. 25
- Theocritus*, poet, XI. 307
- Theodorus*, chief of the Eu-molpides at Athens, explains the curse made against Alcibiades, IV. 257
- Theodorus* of Syracuse, declares himself against Dionysius in favor of liberty, VI. 98
- Theodorus* of Syracuse persuades Dion to return and save the city, VI. 151
- Theodotus*, governor of Bactria, revolts from Antiochus Hierax, and is king of that province, IX. 55
- Theodotus*, son of the former, succeeds his father, and makes a league with Ar-saces, IX. 75
- Theodotus*, general to Antiochus the Great against Molo, is forced to retreat, IX. 160
- Theodotus*, Eolian, governor of Cœlesyria for Ptolemy Philopator, defends that province against Antiochus the Great, IX. 161. he is accused maliciously, and in resentment declares for Antiochus. He enters the tent of Ptolemy at night with design to kill him, but kills the doctor by mistake, 170 to 174
- Theodotus*, of Syracuse, conspires against Hieronymus, is put to the rack, and dies without discovering, XI. 316
- Theodotus*, tutor to the last Ptolemy, advises to kill Pompey: he presents the head to Caesar, XII. 132
- Theophrastus*, Antigonus's general, for refusing to quit Coriath, is put to death by Aratus, IX. 95
- Theophrastus*, philosopher, pert answer given him by an old woman at Athens, V. 259
- Theopompus*, king of Sparta, establishes the Ephori, III. 24. he commands in the war against the Argives, 113. then against the Messenians, 115. he is defeated and put to death by Aristomenes, 119
- Theopompus*, disciple of Iso-crates, gains the prize of panegyric from his master, VI. 287
- Theoxena*, wife of Poris: her piteous tragical end. X. 167
- Theramenes*, Athenian general, appointed to bury the dead after the battel at Arginusæ, IV. 272. he is sent

INDEX.

cix

- sent to Lylander, during the siege of Athens, 285. being one of the thirty he opposes their cruelty, and is put to death by Critias, V. 10
- Thermæ*, capital city of Etolla, taken by surprize, and the temple destroyed by Philip, son of Demetrius, IX. 203
- Thermopylae*, pass of mount Oeta between Phocis and Thessaly, III. 238. battel there between Leonidas and Xerxes, 233. Cassander defeated there by Demetrius, VIII. 242. and the Romans rout Antiochus, X. 68
- Theron*, of Agrigentum, father in law to Gelon, IV. 75
- Theseus*, king of Athens, son of Aegeus, III. 13. dies in Scyros, whither he had fled, IV. 11
- Thebes*, in Achaia, VI. 106
- Theopis*, Greek poet, improver of tragedy, III. 62. VI. 36
- Thessaly*, province of Greece, III. 4. submits to Xerxes, 230. Pelopidas delivers the Thessalians from Alexander of Phære, VI. 228. they have recourse to Philip against their tyrants, VII. 25
- Thessalonice*, widow of Cassander, is killed by his eldest son Antipater, VIII. 259
- Thessa*, wife of Polyxenes; her noble answer upon her husband's escape, VI. 100
- Thirty*. Council of thirty at Sparta, III. 23. thirty tyrants at Athens, IV. 284. cruelties which they commit: Thrasybulus drives them out of Athens: they resist, and are all put to the sword, V. 10 to 14
- Thoas*, Eolian, envoy to Antiochus to bring him into Greece, X. 52 to 56
- Thrace*, province of Europe; customs of its people, III. 160. part of it subjected by Philip, VII. 47. its kings, VIII. 91
- Thraso*, for a supposed treason is put to death, XI. 317
- Thrasybulus*, tyrant of Miletus, by an artifice prevents a siege from Haliattes, II. 114
- Thrasybulus*, brother of Gelon, reigns at Syracuse one year, and is dethroned, IV. 85
- Thrasybulus*, general of the Athenians, IV. 249. causes Alcibiades to be deposed, 264. he quits Athens to avoid the thirty tyrants, V. 13.

- V. 13. he expels them that city, and reinstates its liberty, 14
Tbucydides, historian, he is sent to the aid of Amphipolis ; the Athenians banish him for suffering that city to be taken, IV. 154
Tbucydides, brother in law to Cimon, is set up against Pericles, who prevails to have him banished, IV. 44, 48
Tburium, city of Greater Greece in Italy, IV. 93
Thymbria, in Caria, where Cyrus defeated Croesus, II. 165
Tbyrea, small territory of Greece, cause of the war between the Argives and Spartans, III. 114
Tbyus, of Paphlagonia, revolts from Artaxerxes ; he is conquered by Datames, V. 127
Tiara, of the Persian kings, VI. 266
Tiberius. See *Gracchus*.
Ticinum battel : Publius Scipio defeated by Hannibal, I. 233
Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, obtains of Cyrus pardon for his father, II. 142 to 144
Tigranes, son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, is released by the Parthians, and placed on the throne, XI. 199. he accepts the crown of Syria, and wears it eighteen years, 202. he marries Cleopatra daughter of Mithridates, and invades the kingdom of Cappadocia, 285. XII. 33, 34. he builds Tigranocerta, 61. and gives Mithridates refuge, 73. the Romans declare war against him, 76. Tigranes is defeated by Lucullus, 82. he raises new troops in concert with Mithridates, but is routed again, 91. Pompey marches against him : Tigranes submits his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey, 103, 105.
Tigranes, son of the former makes war with his father XII. 103. he puts himself under the protection of Pompey ; but not complying with his decree, Pompey reserves him for his triumph, 105
Tigranocerta, city of Armenia, built by Tigranes, who was totally defeated there by Lucullus, XII. 61, 79
Tigris, river of Asia, VII. 215
Timagoras, sent from Athens to

- to the court of Persia, receives great presents ; for which he is condemned to die, VI. 226
- Tismandra*, concubine of Alcibiades, V. 8
- Timarchus*, tyrant of Miletus, conquered and killed by Antiochus Theos, IX. 49, 50
- Timarchus*, governor of Babylon is put to death for rebelling against Demetrius Soter, XI. 137
- Timasitus*, chief of the pyrates of Lipara : his noble and religious behaviour to the Romans, VI. 164
- Timaea*, wife of Agis, hath a son by Alcibiades, IV. 195
- Timenes*, one of the three principal Heraclidæ who recover the Peloponese, III. 17
- Timoclea*, Theban lady, her action at the taking of Thebes, VII. 113
- Timolaus*, sent from Sparta with a great present to Philopæmen, who despairs to take it, X. 58
- Timoleon*, Corinthian, executes his brother Timophanes for usurping the tyranny, VI. 166. his actions and character, 166 to 183. I. 159 to 161
- Timophanes*. See *Timoleon*.
- Timotheus*, son of Conon, is sent with the Athenian fleet to assist the Thebans ; he takes the ile of Corcyra, VI. 203. saying of his own general's conduct, 237. he is employed in the war against the allies, 276. he is used unworthily by the Athenians ; retires to Chalcis, and dies there, 279
- Timotheus*, general to Antiochus Epiphanes, is twice defeated by Maccabeus, X. 240. XI. 177
- Tiribazus*, general to Artaxerxes Mnemon, V. 29. his negotiation and treaty with Antalcides, 108. he commands the fleet against Evagoras, and besieges him in Salamis, 116. he is falsely accused by Orontes, and put in chains, 117. the king discovers his innocence, and restores him to favor, 122. he accompanies Artaxerxes against the Cadusians : his stratagem to make that people comply, 125
- Tissapernes*, Persian general, reduces Pisuthnes governor of Lydia, and succeeds him, IV. 149. he is won by Alcibiades, whom he causes to be sent prisoner to Sardis, 242 to 253. he is one

one of the chief commanders at the battel of Cunaxa, V. 29. he takes upon him to conduct the Greeks home, but seizes Clearchus and the other generals by treachery, and sends them to Artaxerxes, 43. he joins Pharnabazus to oppose Dercyllidas, 73. he is defeated by Agesilaus near Sardis; he is unjustly accused and put to death, 88

Tibraunes seizes Tissaphernes by order of Artaxerxes, and commands the army in his stead, V. 89. he stirs up several states of Greece against the Lacedemonians,

94
Tobit is carried captive into Assyria: he hides himself from the cruelty of Sennacherib: he foretels the ruin of Nineveh, II. 93,

85, 87

Tomyris, queen of Scythia, how tis said she put Cyrus to death, II. 231

Tragedy, its rise and progress, VI. 36

Trasymenus, lake in Tuscany, famous for Hannibal's victory over the Romans, and the death of Flaminius, I. 241

Tribis, river in Lombardy,

Sempronius routed by Hannibal, I. 236.

Triarius, lieutenant to Lucullus is defeated by Mithridates, XII. 93. the bones of the slain are buried by Pompey's order, 113
Triballi, people of Moesia, their battel with Philip,

VII. 64

Trismegistus or Mercury, I. 70

Triumps, their savage pomp and pride, VI. 29

Trazen, in Argolis, gives refuge to the Athenians, III.

240

Trough: punishment used by the Persians, IV. 2

Troy kingdom according to Plato, II. 77

Troy, city, burnt by the Greeks, III. 14. visited by the Romans with religious admiration, X. 84

Truth and Honour, VII. 99

Tryphena, daughter of Physcon, and wife to Antiochus Grypus, XI. 184. she sacrifices her sister Cleopatra to her jealousy, 187. Antiochus of Cyzicium puts her to death, 188

Trypilia, district, IX. 196

Tunis, in Africa, taken by Regulus, I. 184. the revolted mercenaries make it their place of arms, 206

Tyre,

- T**yre, in Phenicia, taken by Nebucadnezar, II. 92. restored by Darius, III. 166. besieged and taken by Alexander, VII. 168. then by Antigonus, VIII. 186. history and prophecies concerning Tyre. VII. 184
- T**yrant, origin and meaning of that name, III. 20. VI. 70 XI. 318
- T**yrtæus, Greek poet, the Athenians give him to the Lacedemonians for their commander: he revives the courage of the latter, and occasions their victory over the Messenians: he is made citizen of Sparta: character of his poetry, III. 122
- V.
- V**argunteius, lieutenant to Crassus, falls in with the Parthians, and is killed; only twenty left of two thousand, XI. 264
- V**arro, consul, is defeated by Hannibal at the battel of Cannæ, I. 253
- V**ashti. See *Aroffa*.
- U**diasthes, friend of Teriteumes, murders him by order of Darius, and dies for it after, V. 4
- V**entidius, consul, beats the Parthians at Zeugma, XI. 275
- V**erres, prætor, his extortion in Sicily, XI. 205
- V**illius, consul, commands against Philip in the room of Sulpitius, IX. 298. sent envoy to Antiochus the Great, X. 42, 47, 49. I. 286
- U**sury at Rome, XII. 74
- U**tica, city of Africa, joins the revolted mercenaries, I. 205, 208. but is reduced to surrender at discretion, 211. submits to the Romans, II. 4, 5. who reward it with the lands between Carthage and Hippo, 24
- U**xii, people on the frontiers of Persia, VII. 237
- W.
- W**AR, the vanity of criticising its actions and events, XI. 9
- W**ater, how kept sweet at Alexandria, XII. 138
- W**icked, seditious members ought sometimes to be bribed into silence, X. 59
- W**idows burning with their departed husbands, an old custom, VIII. 175
- W**isemen. See *Sages*.
- W**omen, their administration of publick affairs, II. 74. See *Ladies*.
- W**riting, its beginning, I. 56
- Xan-

X.

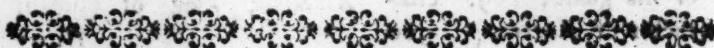
- Xanthus*, philosopher, master to Æsop, III. 89
Xantippe, wife of Socrates, V. 139 and 177
Xantippus, Lacedemonian, commands the Carthaginians ; he defeats Regulus ; retires and disappears I. 185 to 189
Xantippus, of Athens, accuses Miltiades, III. 194
Xantippus, father of Pericles, III. 241
Xantippus, Athenian, joint commander of the Grecian fleet, defeats the Persians near Mycale, III. 270
Xantippus, eldest son of Pericles dies of the plague, IV. 115
Xenetas, is sent against Molo by Antiochus the Great : he falls into an ambush, is routed and slain, IX. 161
Xenocrates, philosopher, V. 219. he is sent by the Athenians to Antipater, VIII. 118
Xenon, Achean, exclaims against the Roman injustice, XI. 63
Xenopbaes, Philip's ambassador to Hannibal, IX. 220
Xenophon, historian, in the service of young Cyrus, V. 25. he commands the

ten thousand Greeks, after the death of Clearchus, and brings them home, 49 to 62. he acts under Agesilaus at the battel of Coronea, 102. his advice to his son Gryllus, 251. character of his style, II. 145. difference between Herodotus and Xenophon in their account of Cyrus, 230
Xerxes I. king of Persia, and son of Darius, confirms to the Jews their privileges, III. 202. he reduces Egypt, and prepares to invade Greece : wise speech of Artabanes to him ; his anger thereon, but soon owns his error in full council, 204, 207. war with Greece being resolved, he makes alliance with the Carthaginians, 210. I. 144. he gives orders to cut a way through mount Athos : he advances to Sardis : his cruelty to Pythius : he marches to the Hellespont, where he passes with the army : incredible number of his forces, III. 211 to 220. Demaratus speaks freely his thoughts of the enterprize, 221. three hundred Spartans dispute the pass of Thermopylæ, 232. Xerxes enraged causes the

- the dead body of Leonidas
to be hung on a gibbet, 233.
he takes and burns the
citadel of Athens, 242.
but is defeated near the ile
of Salamis, 246. he leaves
Mardonius in Greece, and
returns into Asia, 249. great
desire of Xerxes for his bro-
ther's wife, and the horri-
ble tragedy that followed,
273. he gives himself up to
ease and pleasure, and is
killed by Artaban captain
of his guard, 299. char-
acter of Xerxes, 300
- Xerxes II.** king of Persia,
son of Artaxerxes Mne-
mon; he is assassinated by
his brother Sogdianus,
IV. 146
- Xiphares**, murdered by his fa-
ther Mithridates, XII. 110
- Xycbus**, discovers the plot of
Perseus against Demetrius,
X. 194
- Y.
- T**ear solar, when first used,
I. 50. the sentence at bot-
tom read thus, Their error
lay in supposing that 6 hours
were wanting instead of .5
hours 49 minutes. See I. 67
- Youth.** See *Children*.
- Z.
- Z**Abdiel, Arabian prince,
betrays Alexander Balus,
- and basely delivers up his
son Antiochus Thkos to
Tryphon, XI. 147, 151
- Zadracarta**, city, VII. 259
- Zadriades**, prince of Arme-
nia, XII. 33
- Zaleucus**, legislator of the
Locrians, IV. 95
- Zama**, seventy miles from
Carthage: great battel be-
tween Hannibal and Scipio,
I. 271
- Zanclæ**, in Sicily, III. 124.
IV. 177
- Zedekiah**, king of Judah,
II. 91
- Zela**, in Pontus: Pharnaces
routed there by Cæsar,
XII. 143
- Zenis**, governor of Aeolis
under Pharnabazus, V. 69
- Zeno** of Citium, founder of
the Stoic philosophy, IX.
123. XI. 219
- Zenodotus**, Ptolemy's libra-
rian at Alexandria, IX. 75
- Zera**, king of Ethiopia is
defeated by Asa king of
Judah, I. 81
- Zeugma** in Syria, where Ven-
tidius beat the Parthians,
XI. 275
- Zippus**, his credit with Hie-
ronymus: cruel fate of
his family, XI. 314, 323
- Zopyrus**, Persian lord, mu-
tates himself to regain
Babylon,

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Babylon for his master | same sect, II. 395, 397. |
| Darius, | III. 140 |
| Zopyrus, a Thracian, tutor
to Alcibiades, | IV. 165 |
| Zoroaster, founder of the
Persian Magi: and | |
| Zoroaster, reformer of the | VIII. 91 |

*This INDEX and preceding CHRONOLOGY have
both been Revised, Corrected, and much
Improved.*



ERRATA.

- I. 66. for 16 millions read eighty.
- II. 70. the 7350 Attic talents of silver are computed one million sterling too much.
- III. 70. line 3. for Potamos read Egos.
- V. 60. for Caledonia read near Chalcedon.
- VI. 257. for Aceæ read Acræ.
- VII. 139. read 150,000*l.* instead of a million and half.
— 312. read Massaga and Cleophe.
- IX. 51. read Rhinocolura.
- 175. line 5. for defended read defeated.
- 209. for landed read embarked.
- 245. from Etolia, read into.
- X. 282. for Oeta read Offa.
- XII. 20. read Archias: and 93. read Triarius.
- Salamis is modern Latin or French: the antient word is Salamis, near Athens, and in Cyprus.
- Libya should be Lybia, derived from Lubim: it is always Englished into *y.*

